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General Lobov Describes Warsaw Pact Situation

AU0712200989 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 7 Dec 89 p 32

[Interview with Soviet General Vladimir Lobov, Warsaw Pact chief of staff, by Lucian O. Meysels: "More Serious Than Expected"—date and place not given]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: The GDR and the CSSR are in a deep crisis. Poland does not have a communist government any more; Hungary does not have a communist party any more. What would happen if a country were to leave the Warsaw Pact?

Lobov: I still think that every nation determines the fate of its country itself. Interference from outside is inadmissible. It is also on the basis of this standpoint that I assess the current process of renewal of the socialist society, the far-reaching restructuring of domestic and foreign policy in several states of the socialist community. This process has its particularities in every country, and that is very legitimate and not at all bad. The times of displayed unanimity are over. In my view something else is valuable—the fact that the socialist states have a common political will to understand each other and to cooperate. They agree on crucial problems of developments in the world. However, new realities in the life of the socialist countries, in Europe, and the world make it necessary for our alliance to be transformed from a military-political into a political-military organization. As for the consequences of the possible resignation of some country or another from the Warsaw Pact, I think they could be much more serious than may seem to be the case at a glance. The most important thing would be that Europe's geopolitical stability which is the basis of European security would be upset. In addition, I believe that it would be much more difficult than before for a country resigning from the Warsaw Pact to integrate into the system of economic relations developing on the continent.

WOCHENPRESSE: President Gorbachev stated before the UN General Assembly that the tanks and the other heavy weapons that will be withdrawn from Europe will be destroyed. Western media has reported that they will only be stored.

Lobov: Some of the tanks—5,000 units—which will be withdrawn from Europe will be destroyed; some—also 5,000 units—will be rebuilt into tractors for civilian purposes. Whoever has any doubts about this should visit Soviet metallurgical plants where swords are virtually forged into plowshares.

WOCHENPRESSE: NATO quarters have claimed that after having commissioned new types of weapons and reorganized troops, the Warsaw Pact forces have not become weaker but stronger, even though the numerical strength of the forces has been reduced.

Lobov: In this respect, much—if not everything—has been turned upside down. The military structure of the Warsaw Pact members is strictly in agreement with the defensive character of their military doctrines. That means a basic change in the orientation of the troops' and staffs' operational and combat training, the criteria of their effectiveness, and the adaptation of the troops to a new organizational structure. All this will be implemented on the basis of a reasonable defense minimum. One of the changes consists in reducing the forces and arms. It will hardly be possible for anybody to prove that this action will strengthen the Warsaw Pact's military might. Rather, the contrary is much the case. Judge for yourself. In two years, the Warsaw Pact forces will be reduced by a quantity which corresponds to the numerical strength of the FRG Bundeswehr—not including the forces that the USSR will reduce in the East and some other regions of the country. Or, take another fact: In the organizational structure of the armies' general units, the number of tanks is being reduced by between 20 and 40 percent. A significant part of this percentage covers the latest models of tanks. They will be destroyed or rebuilt into tractors for requirements of our economy. Consequently, the fighting ability of the Warsaw Pact forces will to a certain extent be reduced qualitatively and quantitatively. Of course, there is a limit below which the reduction must not fall. It is the level of guaranteed repulsion of an aggression against any country of our alliance.

WOCHENPRESSE: What role do you attribute to Austria?

Lobov: We assess the status of the Republic of Austria's permanent neutrality highly; it is undoubtedly an important factor of European stability. At the same time, a certain orientation of Austria's military policy course is making us wary. Of course, it does not threaten any Warsaw Pact member. However, we have to consider Austria's possible movement in the direction of NATO, in the direction of increasing its Army's fighting ability.

WOCHENPRESSE: Do you believe that Austria would be able to avoid being dragged into a war in Europe?

Lobov: I do not think that there should be a war in Europe—neither conventional nor nuclear. The Warsaw Pact and NATO must do everything in their power to prevent such a war. However, assuming the worst, I think that even a conventional war could be the last war for Europe. The destruction of hydraulic structures, nuclear power plants, and chemical enterprises would also have disastrous consequences for countries that do not take part in an armed conflict.

WOCHENPRESSE: Does a country such as Austria need a strong army to protect its neutrality if necessary? Is an army without missiles conceivable today?

Lobov: What type of army the Republic of Austria should have, can only be decided by itself and by its people, and by no one else. In this respect, we assume that Austria will observe the obligations it assumed in the State Treaty of 1955.

Malta 'Climate' Seen Aiding Arms Talks Progress

PM1012201589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Dec 89 Morning Edition p3

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "The Echo of Malta in Geneva"]

[Text] Geneva—When describing the evolution of Soviet-American relations, the formula "from Geneva to Malta" has become usual for the Swiss mass media.

Developing this formula, one can say with total justification that today the echo of Malta is very clearly apparent in Geneva. The wide-ranging political dialogue between M.S. Gorbachev and U.S. President G. Bush on the Soviet liner in Marsaxlokk Bay, which has given a boost to Soviet-U.S. collaboration, is making it possible to count on more dynamic progress by the two countries at the nuclear arms talks. This is evidenced, in particular, by the recently concluded 12th round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms. The results of the ground covered, presented at a press conference for journalists by the heads of the Soviet and American delegations, show that the participants in the talks have been able to draw nearer to concluding a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms.

Analyzing the statements made at the press conference by Yu.K. Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation, and his American colleague, Richard Burt, one cannot fail to notice that considerable progress was made at the talks—particularly in the direction of effectively verifying observance of the accords on strategic offensive arms—shortly before the end of the round. These accords between the participants in the talks have been made possible thanks to the favorable climate created by the Malta meeting. In their reports from Geneva on the results of the 12th round of talks on nuclear and space arms, very few journalists covering this event were able to refrain from drawing attention to the symbolic gesture of accord and cooperation by the Soviet and American delegations. For the first time since the Geneva talks on nuclear and space arms began in March 1985, the press conference for journalists was organized by the two delegations jointly rather than separately, as has always been the case in the past.

However, neither the Soviet nor the American representatives have concealed the fact at all that some major problems still remain unresolved at the talks. In this connection, the Soviet delegation drew attention to differences in approach to the "ceilings" of air-launched and also sea-launched cruise missiles, as well as to the absence of progress in the "space aspect" of the talks. Nevertheless, leaving Geneva for the brief working recess, both delegations see their main task as being to eliminate the remaining obstacles and ensure the signing of a treaty on strategic offensive arms at the forthcoming Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington, planned for June 1990. The delegations still have a lot of intensive work ahead in order to get the treaty ready by the deadline set on Malta. The brief recess signaling the end of another round promises no respite—as evidenced by the fact that both delegations have taken away with them packed more than 1,000 pages of text of the future treaty on strategic offensive arms, a number of whose provisions require elaboration.

'Roundtable' Debates Malta, Latin America, Mideast

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["International Observers Roundtable" program, presented by Nikolay Agayants, with foreign political commentators Boris Andrianov and Gennadiy Vedenyapin]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, esteemed listeners. "International Observers at the Roundtable" is on the air. At the microphone is its presenter, Nikolay Agayants. Here to take part in our meeting today are my colleagues, the foreign-political commentators of all-union radio Boris Andrianov and Gennadiy Vedenyapin.

I have to admit that on the way to the studio, for the first time in many years of journalism, I was almost at a loss: The week offers such an abundance of themes that one really doesn't know what to talk about. But let's take one thing at a time.

In Moscow, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev presented to the leaders of the allied countries detailed information on his talks with U.S. President George Bush. On the eve of the Malta meeting, he said, we consulted our allies by letter and agreed that, in examining the situation in the world and in Europe, as well as in the eastern part of the continent taken as a whole, we would start from the positions which have been agreed between us and them. Let me emphasize that the Soviet side was indeed guided by this in the informal exchange of views with the head of the White House on a wide range of issues of the current international situation.

[Andrianov] One can say today, without in any way pitching it too high, and with full justification, that the Soviet-U.S. talks in Malta were one of the most important events of this year: Events which are fully in keeping with the dialogue that has developed between east and west to take account of the challenge of the times and the need to make the foreign-political process adequate to the increased complexity of the world situation. The conversations between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush have shown very clearly indeed the productiveness of the new political thinking and underlined the necessity—and above all, the possibility—of linking the interests of state regardless of their social systems. Incidentally, the atmosphere of frankness and openmindedness which was established in Malta from the start enabled the leaders of the USSR and United States to carry out a constructive exchange of opinions on practically all the key international problems of our time, and also examine the main issues of bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, and there's another aspect that I think we should certainly remind ourselves of, and that is the fact that at the Bush-Gorbachev talks an important place was given to various components of the rapid process of change that is now taking place in the countries of Eastern Europe and is having a deep effect, in many different ways, on the trends of European and world development. On the one hand, it was pointed out how important it is to ensure a stability which will not only instill a sense of safety and confidence in all the states of Europe without exception, but also guarantee the future of the general European structures which are only just coming into being and which are, therefore, still fragile. As for the prospects of developing relations on the plane of east and west, taking account of the changes that are occurring in both parts of the continent of Europe, Mikhail Sergeyevich brought out the importance of a further lowering of the level of military confrontation and of respect for Europe's existing state frontiers. Realism forces us to start from the assumption that the existing alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, will be retained in the foreseeable future. They can, the Soviet leader stressed, make their contribution to the consolidation of European security as political alliances, becoming a kind of bridge on the basis of a strong sense of shared responsibility.

[Agayants] Reactions to the Malta meeting are appearing on our editorial teleprinter literally from every corner of the globe. Naturally, they are not all of a kind; but the overwhelming majority of the foreign media—and this applies equally to the utterances of prominent political and public figures in the various countries—the majority of them, as I say, think the Soviet-U.S. talks have been a success, and welcome them. The main outcome of the meeting in the Mediterranean is that the Moscow-Washington dialogue has not just been continued, but has been raised to a qualitatively new level. Here is what a commentator of the influential U.S. paper THE WASHINGTON POST, Jim Hoagland, writes about it. I quote: This dialogue between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, away from the atmosphere of tense, and at times unhealthy, rivalry is an important step forward. One could, of course, take the results of the talks between Bush and Gorbachev point by point, but I think the very fact of a meeting of minds between our presidents is more important. They have learned to understand and trust one another. Is this not quite a large achievement in itself, Hoagland asks.

[Andrianov] Of course it's no small thing. New proof of that is the first joint press conference by the leaders of the USSR and United states, held just a week ago aboard the "MV Maksim Gorkiy," immediately after the end of the talks. This was a good sign of the general improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations. The interim unofficial meeting in Marsaxlokk Bay, then, has become part of history. It has once again marked the island of Malta as a crossroads; and on this occasion, the roads lead to the future. That crossroads is behind us. Ahead of us is the continuation of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Ahead of us is the official visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich to the United States, in the course of which some agreements of the greatest importance may be signed. Without running ahead, I'll say, nevertheless, that those documents will become documents of fateful character. THE NEW YORK TIMES recently wrote in this connection; President Bush's decision to try to complete work on the strategic arms treaty with Moscow before the next summit in June 1990 signifies an important change in his views on arms control.

[Vedenyapin] I'd like to add to what you've said, Boris Vasilyevich, one interesting and symptomatic fact: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush have been named as the world's leading politicians who've made news, as they say, this year. This is clear from the published data of the traditional annual poll of its subscribers carried out by UPI. The poll decides the main events of the year and names the political and public figures to whose actions the media have paid most attention. UPI emhasizes that the Soviet leader's top marks among the politicians reflect the atmosphere of hope that has become established in the world—hope of a radical improvement in east-west relations. Let me add that, in all, 140 newspaper, magazine, radio and television editors took part in the poll.

It is for this very reason that an exchange of opinions took place at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting on regional conflicts. According to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement this exchange was very rich in content and constructive. The Soviet and U.S. leaders confirmed their former positions regarding the fact that all these acute problems must be resolved by political methods.

[Agayants] Yes. Only by peaceful means and by way of negotiations. Incidentally, today in Costa Rica a meeting is planned of the presidents of five countries of Central America. It has been decided to hold it at the request of Daniel Ortega, the Nicaraguan president.

Issues which concern the fulfillment of the peace accords reached at the previous meeting in the Honduran town of Tela on 7 August this year have been put on the agenda. However, it should be admitted that today's meeting possesses the quality of a sort of emergency, and there are reasons for that.

[Andrianov] I would even say, very weighty reasons. Daniel Ortega has announced that he firmly intends to insist that the accords under which stand the signatures of the presidents of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and El Salvador be steadfastly put into practice.

[Andrianov] I think that it is worth recalling that these accords provide for the demobilization, repatriation, and resettlement to third countries of the members of the armed units of the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. It was envisaged that all of this would be done by 5 December. Today the 10th is already on the calendr. But the above-mentioned accord has not been fulfilled.

[Vedenyapin] Well, it is more accurate to say that the fulfillment of this accord has been broken off—broken off because of the position of the leaders of the Contras, who are conscious of outside suport. Therefore, at the meeting in Costa Rica the Nicaraguan president will propose lengthening the term for fulfillment of the agreement on disbanding the Contras units to 31 December.

Thus, the armed opposition is being given one more chance to step onto the path of peaceful settlement of the problem—a problem which is essentially the core of the reginal conflict in Central America. I want to hope that the meeting beginning today of the Central American Five will give justification for talking about the continuation of the process of political stabilization in the region. This process is not proceeding simply and it is all the more important that it does not reach a deadlock in which the way out will probably be much more complex than at present.

[Agayants] I think that in setting one's sights on unblocking regional conflicts, it is vital to see the main task, and in my view it consists of destroying stagnant political stereotypes, or, as it is now customary to say, of demonstrating new political thinking and assessing the real situation of things from the position of today. This is a pressing requirement of the present international conditions whose vital necessity is dictated by the global situation on the world arena.

[Andrianov] Such an approach completely suits the situation in Central America, where it has been extremely exacerbated which, quite naturally, is now giving rise to serious concern, no matter what reasons led to the present dangerous escalation of tension in this region. The necessity of taking urgent and effective measures directed at normalizing the situation is, moreover, becoming obvious. But the actual ways and means for this should be determined first and foremost, of course, by the Latin Americans themselves. Well, and if they consider that other states could somehow assist this, then such assistance should be provided. This circumstance, incidentally, is indicated in the statement of the Soviet Government published in the press last Saturday.

[Vedenyapin] I will add that this extremely timely and topical document also discusses the primary actions in the course of the process of peaceful settlement of the regional conflict in Central America. In the opinion of our government, the realization of the accords on holding free and democratic elections in Nicaragua is now of foremost importance.

Preparation for them, as is known, is proceeding in complete accordance with these accords, first of all. Second, it is necessary to fulfill the accords on disbanding the Nicaraguan armed opposition. Finally, in third place, the civil war in El Salvador must be ended. To achieve these aims, it is necessary for the states outside the region also to assist the settlement process, or at least not to hinder it.

[Agayants] Yes, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich. It is a very substantial point. It was quite justifiably noted by the United Nations Organization Security Council at its sitting two days ago. It appealed urgently to all interested parties to cooperate in the search for measures for the political resolution of the problem of a settlement in Central America.

Simultaneously, the Security Council confirmed its appeal to all states, including those which are connected with this region and have interests in it, to refrain from all actions which could hinder the achievement of a real and firm settlement in Central America by means of negotiations.

[Andrianov] The urgent necessity of eliminating the conflict in the Central American region is obvious. Just as obvious is the long due need to untangle the Near East knot. It is finally time to settle this old, drawn-out conflict in the Near East. After all, it exerts a negative influence on the whole world situation. At the same time, the outdated character of the Arab-Israeli conflict in no way removes its acuteness, rather the reverse, as is demonstrated by the whole atmosphere of confrontation which, like a storm cloud, hangs over relations between the Arabs and Israel.

[Vedenyapin] But, you see, at the same time we should bear in mind that in the Near East region weapons of mass destruction have appeared. According to reports by the western press, nuclear and chemical weapons are being amassed there. Acceleration of missile programs is taking place. If all this is adding to military arsenals then it is, of course, obvious that a new armed conflict could turn out to be an unpredictable influence of the situation in the world as a whole, if only that the appearance in the region of weapons of mass destruction are already raising, I would say, to a qualitatively different level the nature of Arab-Israel confrontation. The dimensions of this confrontation are, as it were, extending beyond the confines of the region.

[Agayants] Yes, such realities must not be ignored. They once more underline how necessary are immediate practical steps with the aim of unblocking the conflict situation in the Near East in order, in the foreseeable future, to create a new model of mutual relations there. At the basis of this model must lie the universally recognized norms and foundations of international law—the principles of equal security and free development of all Near East states and peoples.

[Andrianov] But is it really possible to achieve security and stability in this region if the Palestinain problem is not resolved in a most cardinal manner? You see, it is this problem which constitutes the core of the Near East conflict. But so far, Tel Aviv does not desire to recognize that resolution of the Palestinian issue can only be reached on the basis of recognition of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. Moreover, there simply exists no alternative to such a resolution.

[Vedenyapin] We all know, having been confronted by the obstinate refusal of the Israeli authorities to recognize the legal rights of the Palestinian people, the population of the territories seized by Israel have raised a revolt against the occupiers—the intifadah. This is not a single act of despair but an organized, united, nonviolent movement. The Palestinians have chosen such a form of political struggle in order to achieve the right to self-determination. Today, incidentally, the intifadah has been going for three years [as heard]. The occupiers are hardening repressions but they have turned out incapable of breaking the will of the revolting Palestinians.

[Agayants] It is no secret that there are even figures in the political leadership of Israel who are forced to admit that they have been confronted by a movement which is simply impossible to suppress by military means. By continuing under such conditions to create violence, the Tel Aviv leaders demonstrate the depravity of such a mode of action since it—not to mention everything else—shuts out a political alternative.

[Andrianov] The situation resembles a deadlock, although I personally am extremely far from pessimistic. But what sensible way out can be found from the situation which has arisen.

[Vedenyapin] There is, of course, a way out. One more confirmation of that, incidentally, is provided by the resolution approved this week by the session of the UN General Assembly with an overwhelming majority, moreover, of its participants' votes. Where is the sense of these documents? They stress that the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, freedom, and independence, for the creation of its own sovereign state, is just and demands utmost support. But the actions of Israel, its expansionist course and the policy of genocide on the occupied Arab lands deserves utmost condemnation and opposition. The only way to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict lies through carrying out an international conference on the Near East under the aegis of the United Nations Organization with the participation, of course, of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

[Agayants] Well, these decisions by the highest organ of the United Nations clearly go beyond the framework of a routine discussion of the Palestinian problem. This time, the General Assembly for the first time advocated practical measures to convene an international conference on the Near East, in particular for the creation of a special preparatory committee within the framework of the Security Council. Furthermore, it called on all permanent members of the Security Council to participate in its work.

[Andrianov] In my view, the following main aspects can be discerned in this document of the General Assembly. First, the world community has finally, unambiguously supported the call by the Soviet Union to launch a mechanism for a comprehensive Near East settlement by way of creating an actual preparatory body to holding an international conference. Second, the aspiration of the international community to involve all permanent members of the Security Council in this work, including the United States, which, in contrast to other members of the Security Council, considers this conference to be a stage toward direct negotiations between the warring sides, is obvious. Finally, in third place, the General Assembly resolution on an international conference can be assessed as the aspiration to overcome the opposition of the present Israeli authorities.

[Vedenyapin] I will allow myself to add one more thing to these conclusions. The General Assembly decision shows that a belief is growing in the world community that conducting such a forum is the only realistic and reliable way that can lead to a just settlement in the region. As a result, the Palestinian people will acquire a homeland, and the people of Israel together with the Arab peoples will gain reliable peace and security.

[Agayants] An international dialogue is broadening and gathering strength literally before our own eyes. This week it was continued in the framework of talks between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, President of France Francois Mitterrand, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister. At both meetings similar issues that interest all Europeans, especially in the light of those swift changes in the process of renewal that is now taking place in the Eastern European socialist countries, were discussed. In the course of the meeting with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev drew the attention of his interlocutor to the fact that in conditions of the present changes that are positively founded on opening up the way to bringing the east and the west closer together, it is especially important to support international stability and to reinforce security.

[Vedenyapin] This, let's note, suggests straight away self-possesion as well as responsibility and considered action on the part of all states, and fair cooperation on the basis of generally accepted principles.

[Agayants] But naturally, in this situation we cannot fail to touch on the issues of relations between the sovereign German states—the GDR and the FRG.

[Andrianov] It may be sensible here to ponder the standard suspicions that concern the idea of national commonality of the two German states. It must be admitted that until recently we ourselves were infected with such a craze in those of our materials that dealt with relations between the two German states. Nevertheless, Eduard Shevardnadze, our foreign minister, has stated clearly the existance of the most distinct links—and not just historic ones—between the population of the GDR and FRG. And, of course, [word indistinct] 40 years after World War II ended and Germany was split, these links still exist.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, if one is to talk in broad categories, so to speak, it is on the historical responsibility of the German people to ensure that a new war should never again be unleashed from German soil that a certain commonality is undoubtedly based, and this dictates the need for cooperation between the two German states. Of course, it is not the confrontation of the period of the Cold War, which on numerous occasions cast a shadow on relations between the FRG and GDR, but mutual understanding and cooperation that must determine the contacts between the two German states in the era of the construction of the all-European home.

[Agayants] It would, no doubt, be of no small interest here to take a look at the way in which certain politicians in Bonn see the future of their country's relations with the German Democratic Republic. Speaking in the Bundestag not so long ago, Helmut Kohl, the FRG chancellor, expressed satisfaction with the processes taking place in the GDR. He said Bonn is prepared to develop cooperation with the German Democratic Republic in the economic, ecological, and other spheres, and to render assistance to it in providing medical services to the population. But at the same time, the chancellor made the FRG's willingness to develop cooperation dependent on a whole series of demands that in practice signify interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Suffice it to say that Kohl demanded a fundamental change in the GDR's political and economic system, no less, and declared that Bonn will only be prepared to give new breadth to inter-German cooperation if that happens.

[Andrianov] On the other hand, Nikolay Ivanovich, it is a well-known fact that such a stance has not found unanimous support in West German political circles. During his visit to Moscow, Hans-Dietrich Genscher found it necessary to stress that the FRG leadership understands the crucial nature of the present moment and respects the sovereign right of the people of the GDR to decide matters to do with the republic's development independently, without outside interference. The FRG, the federal vice chancellor declared, acts on the premise that it is necessary to maintain stability on the continent and further to develop and deepen the pan-European process, which acts as a guarantee of this stability.

[Vedenyapin] Yes, the phrase: Changing but stable Europe, is at present receiving general recognition. Employing this phrase, one could say that a changing GDR must be an integral element of a stable Europe, and the republic, as is evident, is striving to perform this important function—in the development, among other things, of normal relations between the two sovereign German states—by having put forward the idea of a treaty-based association serving the interests of pan-European security.

[Agayants] We are not indifferent, of course, to the attitude the west is taking to the changes in the socialist countries. Numerous commentaries are now appearing in the newspapers and magazines there whose authors are, with evident gloating, writing about some sort of defeat of communism and the triumph of the west in the Cold War. But really serious observers and politicians are by no means inclined to maintain this sort of tone. Washington, London, and Paris alike are declaring that they have absolutely no intention of using the present situation to gain any one-sided advantages. Statements are being made there in support of the preservation of stability and respect for postwar borders. In a word, a sober-minded and well-considered approach predominates.

[Andrianov] Nevertheless, you see, certain people in Bonn are putting their own gloss on the opening of the borders and the process of democratic transformations in the German Democratic Republics, and asserting that this will allegedly ultimately bring about the reunification of Germany—perhaps not today or tomorrow, but at any rate in the foreseeable future, to be sure. How right does it seem to put things like this?

[Vedenyapin] I think it is premature at the very least, clearly premature. The problem itself seems too complex and multifaceted. This is particularly true inasmuch as the German question does not just affect the Germans. It affects the vital interests of all Europeans. After all, what is involved, I repeat, is security in the continent. Since a peace treaty has not yet been concluded, the four victorious powers continue to be responsible for the destiny of Germany. They have not, as it happens, mentioned this for a long time, and so perhaps they really should recall this and discuss together the problems emerging in this context.

[Agayants] The most cautious political observers are, generally speaking, viewing the arguments that have recently marked the debate about the reunification of the two Germanies as irresponsible. Indeed, many people are talking about the problem as if what was involved was a natural result that will be obtained, or might be obtained, thanks to any broad liberalization of the situation in East Germany. But this point of view does not take into account the real depth of the problem. Suffice it to note that more than a million soldiers—armed with up-to-date means for conducting military operations—are, as far as one knows, now stationed on the territory of the two Germanies. What is more, it is not just a question of conventional arms, but nuclear ones, too. Two military alliances continue to exist—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It is clear that one should hardly talk here of some kind of unilateral disarmament. It is, of course, obvious that reunification of the two German states is quite unthinkable without the broad agreement of all the interested parties. The times dictate to all the socialist states that it is necessary to seek new forms, their own forms, of socialist liberty and socialist commonality. Reality is forcing us to discard familiar stereotypes and outmoded views, and to jettison illusions. Moreover, the socialist idea, despite the degree to which it has been deformed, continues to have an immense attractive force for millions of people. It is impossible to fail to take this into account.

Well, esteemed comrades, our program has run out of time. We thank you for your attention. Goodbye and all the best.

German Reunification Issue Discussed

LD0712034189 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Events in Eastern Europe have changed a lot not only in socialist countries; they have seriously affected Western attitude towards the East. After meeting Mikhail Gorbachev on Malta the American President, George Bush, said Soviet reforms and democratic changes in the East demanded a new attitude on the part of the United States. Even the Cocom [Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy], the Western watchdog which has policied technology exports to the socialist countries since 1949, is now wondering if the recent reforms in the East will make the committee obsolete. One of Cocom's experts in Paris said when a key Cocom member like West Germany is talking about literally moving in with a country on that outlaw list, the GDR, something's got to give. It is not yet clear whether the Cocom will surrender to the pressure of Western businessmen and politicians, but the problem of two Germanies has turned out to be in the focus of European attention. After the first reforms were initiated in the German Democratic Republic most of Western countries, with West Germany spearheading the initiative, raised the problem of German reunification, but very soon the West turned down (?its) approach to the problem, leaving West Germany alone and even trying to dissuade it from the idea. Yuriy Minayev looks at this turning point of West European policy:

[Minayev] In my opinion it was some kind of euphoria in the West when the reforms swept the socialist countries. In the opinion of most Western politicians it was the Western hard stance towards the East that finally led to all this. They felt to some extent proud of what they had for long wanted to happen. Well, I'm not quite sure that this process began thanks to the West. After all, it was the Soviet Union which began reforms in 1985. That was some kind of inertia in the West—to fight for freedoms in the East. I would not say there was nothing to fight for, but I believe it was this inertia that made the West urge further reforms in the GDR. But things come together, and as soon as Western policy makers gave thought to the implications of the German reunification, they immediately toned down their calls. In fact this U-turn in the attitude to the reunification problem took place in a matter of days. Most people could hardly notice it.

[Announcer] Indeed, West Germany's NATO allies gave a cool response on Monday to Chancellor Helmut Kohl's plan for an East-West German federation, which Helmut Kohl believes may lead to eventual untiy. The British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher made it clear that she had been one of his less enthusiastic listeners. Moreover, she told the NATO summit in Brussels that Europe's borders must not be changed until the 21st century. The British leader, who said last month that the question of German reunification was not on the international agenda, added that Western allies must nourish the democracy movement in Eastern Europe and help the

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev succeed in his reform drive. So it looks like now, when the GDR leadership and even opposition groups in the country rejected the idea of reunification, it is only West Germany that favors the idea. Nikolay Borin, what is your opinion on this score?

[Borin] I would say that not only in the GDR but also in most other western countries people there are cautious or strictly against the reunificaiton of Germanies. But, what is the major apprehensions? As most Asian countries still carry a deep scar left by Japanese occupation, (?they) worry about the rebirth of Japanese military power, so the collective memory of most Europeans is still extremely sensitive to the idea of a large German state which neither France, Britain, or Russia could counter balance. This is the opinion of one of the popular Western columnists and it is rather typical, I would say. He remembers the respected German president, Richard von Weizsaecker, who understood it well when he wrote a few years ago that overcoming partition does not mean unification. For the former we will find understanding almost everywhere, and for the latter almost nowhere. Most Europeans, he stated, dislike the wall about as much they do the idea of a large German state in the centre of Europe. Coming back to history, I think it would be (?peculiar) to remember that there was a chance for both socialist countries and the West to decide the fate of Germany and to reunite it. It was in the early 50's before Federal Germany became part of the NATO alliance. It was in 1953 that the Soviet Government proposed that both Western countries and the Soviet Union would withdraw their troops from Germany and free elections would take place there. As a result, I think, we could (?at that) time, we could have now, these days, a reunited Germany. But, the West rejected the idea of the Soviet Union and Federal Germany became the part of the NATO, the member of this alliance, and now we have the reality, we have in Europe what we have.

So I know that the Berlin wall and the dislike toward this phenomena, this division of the Europe, that the blame for it is mainly put on the Soviet side but it is not very true to fact. I think that—it could sound strange to a Western ear—but the reaction towards the erection of this wall was rather calm in the West and the advisor of the former President Kennedy said that there was such a tension at this period of Cold War that many Westerners saw the erection of the wall as less trouble for the Europe and even some relief that they felt in their hearts. So history puts its own reactions to the situation to the present situation, but we are facing the situation which now exists—that means two Germanies and two alliances. I mean this dividing line is going not just through Germany, through Germans, but this dividing line today is dividing Europe, dividing two systems, two military alliances, so this reality we have to face and not be too hasty to overcome realities just by our political skills.

[Second announcer] Thank you, Nikolay Borin. Speaking at the NATO summit in Brussels, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl acknowledged there were differences on this most sensitive issue of German reunification but he and President Bush both stressed that any moves in that direction would be gradual with no timetable and within the framework of NATO and the EEC. These are very stringent conditions in regards to socialist countries, which can hardly be accepted. Yuriy Minayev, do you think this may mean the end of the idea?

[Minayev] In fact there are two problems that haunt NATO now in connection with the reforms in Eastern Europe. They are the prospect of deeper American military cuts and the reunification of Germany. The question of possible German reunification, though I am not sure of it at all, is a key problem for NATO since the two German states mark the front line for both East and West.

I believe the idea is not dead and never will be but I agree it is not on the international agenda now. Mr Kohl said he understood that talk of German unity inevitably raised emotions because of recent history—a clear reference to Nazi conquest of Europe in World War II. At the same time he complained that many had criticized his plan without having read it. He said his plan contained a logical description of possible policy resulting from basic values. Well, in my opinion, to some extent this is so, but many questions remain unanswered for NATO about the problem of reunification. The most important are: Would the new Germany eventually become neutral, and how would the creation of a new economc superpower effect the balance of power in Europe? I don't believe the West German chancellor is too much carried away by the idea. After all, it was he who said the division of Germany can only be overcome if we overcome the division of Europe.

In my opinion these words mean that political realities are taken into account both in West Germany and in the West as a whole. At the same time this is a call for closer cooperation in Europe, which is very important now.

Commentary on Mediterranean 'Situation'

LD0812054289 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—By TASS commentator Dmitriy Mishin:

The positive changes in Europe have not so far adequately reflected themselves in the Mediterranean dimension of the all-European process. So nobody doubted that problems of the Mediterranean would be discussed during Mikhail Gorbachev's state visit to Italy.

The problems of peace and security in that region still await solution. The situation there continues to be aggravated by the long-drawn-out sharp conflicts—the Middle East, Cyprus, and others as well as by a naval presence clearly in excess of the need to protect martime routes and provide coastal defense.

The Soviet Union is genuinely interested in improving the situation in the Mediterranean. To the USSR, the region is important in view of its proximity to its southern border and of the fact that the only sea route linking Soviet southern ports with the world ocean passes through that region. The Soviet approach to resolving the Mediterranean problems does not aim at breaking the Atlantic cohesion or to displacing the USA from the region.

On the part of other countries, including Malta, Cyprus and Yugoslavia, many interesting ideas have been proposed concerning the whole set of the Mediterranean problems. The Soviet Union is prepared to cooperate with all interested states in making the Mediterranean an area of peace and cooperation through collective search for constructive solutions. This Soviet approach was demonstrated during Gorbachev's visit to Italy, which was expressed in a joint Soviet-Italian declaration, stating the two countries' intention to cooperate "so that the new positive development would not be confined to the continent, but also extended to the Mediterranean basin." In Rome the Soviet side proposed "to start consultations with Italy, the U.S. and possibly in the U.N. Security Council on problems of permanent presence in the Mediterranean of naval forces of the USSR and the U.S."

The states and peoples of the Mediterranean hope that interaction between the USSR and Italy will yield, as Gorbachev said in Quirignale Palace in Rome, "results worthy of the present period of indepth changes in Europe and the world." Such interaction may manifest itself at the talks of 35 CSCE states on confidence measures, now in progress in Vienna, as well as during the preparations and holding of a meeting on the Mediterranean within the CSCE framework, in September-October 1990 in Palma-de-Mallorca, based on the Vienna meeting decision.

United States & Canada

TASS on President Bush's News Conference

LD1212001789 Moscow TASS in English 2357 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Washington December 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

President George Bush of the United States has described his recent meeting with President Gorbachev of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics off Malta as "very promising".

He was speaking at a news conference for editors of American newspapers in the White House. Bush said that "we are on the threshold of exciting new relations between the United States and the Soviet Union".

The American President stressed that the two countries still had differences on a number of points. Nevertheless he stated frankly that he was more optimistic at the end of the year than he was at the beginning and that changes in the Soviet Union and entire Eastern Europe inspired hopes.

Bush particularly commented on the visit to China of an American high-ranking delegation headed by President's National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft.

After the meeting with President Gorbachev, the President thought it advisable to inform the Chinese leaders. He said he had made it clear to the Chinese leaders before the Malta summit he wanted to have it. The President said he was very glad that after General Scowcroft's visit the Chinese Foreign Ministry stated it would not sell missiles to any Middle East country.

President Bush added that the United States did not want to see China left in complete isolation.

Responding to questions about his Administration's approach to the issue of German reunification, Bush recalled that the issue of European borders had been touched upon in the Helsinki agreements. He said he considered it very important for the United States not to appear trying to speed up changes in Germany or set deadlines for the reunification.

Bush said that he understood how sensitive the issue was for the Soviet Union and that it caused concern for a number of U.S. European allies.

He said he did not want it to appear as if he were against changing the status quo in the German Democratic Republic, but he did not want to try and expedite the solution of the issue of German reunification. Bush added that the solution of the problem is the affair of the German people.

President Bush expressed hope that political changes would continue in the world to lead towards the reduction of tension so that the countries could devote much more attention to the trade sector.

Bush Cited on 'Successful' Malta Meeting

PM1112130589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Bush: 'Meeting Was Successful'"]

[Text] Washington, 8 Dec—U.S. President G. Bush has called the Malta meeting "a positive, productive, reassuring step on the way to establishing new Soviet-U.S. relations."

The talks with M.S. Gorbachev, the head of the White House pointed out when speaking in Houston (Texas) Thursday [7 December], "covered a wide range of questions and enabled us to gain an idea of what we have all been hoping for for the past 40 years—a more stable, more peaceful world."

As evidence of the U.S. desire to develop and strengthen relations with the Soviet Union the President cited the proposal made in the talks off the shores of Malta to "make efforts with a view to concluding a trade agreement which would lead to the granting to the USSR of most-favored-nation status in trade by the time the official summit meeting is held in the United States at the end of next June." Bush also emphasized the importance of accelerating the elaboration of "a new treaty on a significant reduction in conventional forces in Europe" in order to prepare it for signing in 1990, as well as the process of preparing an agreement on a reduction in strategic offensive arms and introducing a ban on chemical weapons.

Tension has now abated, the President went on to say. "But there was one sphere in which our opinions differed—this was Central America, and there must be no variant readings here."

However, as Bush stated in conclusion, "I am really sincerely convinced that the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev was successful and provided an opportunity to improve important relations" with the Soviet Union.

President Bush's NEWSWEEK Interview Cited

PM1212115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Correct Step. G. Bush on the Malta Meeting"]

[Text] New York, 11 Dec—"As soon as we began our talks I was convinced that I had acted correctly by proposing to organize the Malta meeting, because of the very atmosphere and the comprehensive nature of the talks and Gorbachev's readiness to discuss any question very directly and frankly," U.S. President G. Bush declared in an interview in NEWSWEEK magazine.

"I felt," the President continued, "that our NATO allies were very pleased that we held this meeting. As a matter of fact, it took place because I sensed the desire of many allies that I should become acquainted with Gorbachev at just such a meeting." "I now want to continue in greater detail the work on the proposals which we made," the head of the U.S. Administration pointed out.

Replying to a question as to whether his opinion of the Soviet leader has changed, G. Bush said: "I undoubtedly respect his position on the approach to the changes in East Europe and his determination to struggle for perestroyka in his own country. I now feel still greater respect for him than when he had only just acceded to the leadership, when I first met with him, or when I saw him last year. He has encountered a number of very serious problems and is fully resolved to overcome them."

To a request to comment on the development of events in the GDR the President declared: "I do not think it is appropriate for the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of a country in East Europe and to lay down a schedule for changes... However, guided by the recommendations of many experts and on the basis of consultations with our allies, I am trying to foresee what these changes will lead to. It is very, very difficult to do this, because they are happening so fast."

Economist on U.S. Investment in USSR

LD1112133789 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—"The removal of obstacles to normal trade and cooperation—not some new 'Marshall Plan'—could stimulate business contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States," said Pavel Bunich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform Matters.

"I do not think that the Americans are prepared to offer us a realistic economic aid programme, similar to the 'Marshall Plan'," he told journalists today.

Evaluating the present state of trade and economic relations between the two countries, Bunich pointed out that their development is hindered by a number of obstacles.

He mentioned such artificial barriers as the so-called "Cocom lists" that forbid selling a whole number of commodities and technologies to the Soviet Union on the plea that they can be used in the Soviet defence industry.

The preservation of Cocom, this "rudiment of Stalinist times", runs counter to elementary logic because the Soviet Union is now disarming itself quicker than the United States, he emphasised.

As far as granting most-favoured-nation trading status to the Soviet Union is concerned, the economist believes that with the current relatively low level of Soviet-American trade, benefit from this would amount to only 350 million dollars.

He regards the lack of government guarantees in the United States for those companies that want to make investments in the Soviet Union as a serious obstacle to the development of trade between the two countries.

Some U.S. officials, "American bureaucrats", are busy frightening their businessmen by talking about the instability of the political situation in the Soviet Union. These actions are also detrimental to commerce, he said.

U.S. Plans to End Trade Barriers 'Encouraging'

LD1112174889 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush has spoken out for giving the Soviet Union preferential treatment in trade, and he added that he would like this to take place before the new Soviet-American summit planned for the end of spring or the beginning of summer next year. Here is what Radio Moscow commentator Aleksandr Pogodin writes.

This is a very important statement, and quite in line with the recent discussions off Malta between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush. The American side said there that it intended to take measures in the immediate future to lift restrictions hampering trade and economic contacts between the two countries. The need for such changes has long been evident, and this is especially clear today when a new stage in Soviet-American relations is beginning, and when the two countries are moving to a high degree of mutual understanding and even mutual action. General political declarations, important as they are, acquire practical meaning only when backed by concrete agreements, and that includes disarmament, humanitarian problems, as well as trade and economic contacts.

The Soviet side has spoken repeatedly about the abnormal character of discriminatory economic measures, the hangovers of the cold war, and lately the business world in the United States and influential forces in the American Congress have been coming out against those practices. Speaking at the full-scale meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party last Saturday, Mikhail Gorbachev said that after the meeting off Malta, the impression on the whole is that Washington has decided to end the economic war against the Soviet Union. And this isn't just a matter of trade, though nobody will argue that trade is an antipode to war; there is also a political aspect to the issue, since yes or no to lifting trade restrictions is yes or no to what we today call new political thinking.

Dealings with the Soviet Union should be based only on full equality, mutual respect and advantage and, judging by what President George Bush has said, the administration in the United States is aware of that, and this of course is encouraging.

U.S. Envoy Hands Bush Message to Shevardnadze

LD1112163289 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today received U.S. ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock at his request.

The American envoy handed a personal message from President George Bush to Mikhail Gorbachev.

Shevardnadze and Matlock discussed topical international issues and bilateral Soviet-American relations.

Vice President Quayle Interviewed

PM1112155989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with Vice President Dan Quayle by A. Blinov, I. Golembiovskiy, and A. Shalnev in Washington: "Hope, Optimism, Caution. U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle Interviewed by IZVESTIYA Correspondents"—date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] It is less than a week since the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting ended in Malta, but it is already noticeable that there are different appraisals of its results in the United States. Moreover, differences in appraisals are typical not only among politicians and public figures but also among high-ranking representatives of the Washington administration. At a time when President Bush had literally only just returned to Washington, Dan Quayle gave an interview to THE WASHINGTON POST in which, as the newspaper notes, he declared that it would be a mistake to interpret the results of the Malta meeting as evidence of changes in Soviet foreign policy.

It was thus—with a question on how differences in appraisals of the Malta meeting should be understood—that we began our conversation with Dan Quayle in his White House office.

"There are no differences... First," D. Quayle said, "and this is most important, the President considers the meeting very successful. There was a good and down-to-earth [predmetnyy] conversation on the substance of questions which were raised. The President believes that relations between the Soviet Union and the United States are advancing. The meeting offered an opportunity to improve them. This is what the President wants; he said so in Malta, he also said so when he returned home. He wishes success to perestroyka, glasnost, and Gorbachev. Just like all of us, the President believes that reforms are necessary. We strive to ensure that they take place. I therefore assume that the meeting was positive and the two leaders established good personal contacts. We hope that relations will improve in spheres like arms control, trade, regional questions, and other spheres.

"But," the vice president went on, "we also admit that problems—fundamental problems at that—do exist at the same time. In my interview with THE WASHINGTON POST I drew attention to one such problem which was discussed at the meeting between President Bush and President Gorbachev—the situation in Central America. Central America has been and remains a disputed sphere in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. As we know, the Soviet Union is trying to solve its own economic problems and raise people's living standards. At the same time, your country annually spends $7 billion on aid to Cuba and $1 billion on aid to Nicaragua. Just think of how this money could be used to meet domestic needs, to the benefit of Soviet people.

"This is one of the problems discussed in Malta... But we hope that there will be changes. And so: There are no differences between what was said in Malta earlier and what is being said now."

We must admit: We cannot say that we were fully convinced by the vice president's words about there being no differences within the administration. Dan Quayle is known as one of the most active representatives of the Republican Party's right wing. While a senator and member of the Senate Armed Services Committee he took quite a hardline stand on arms control questions in particular and on the development of Soviet-U.S. relations in general. Even now, the local press is inclined to think that the 42-year old vice president stands to the right of the President and is, on the whole, inclined to be more skeptical than the head of the administration.

Hence our next question: In the vice president's opinion, how realistic are the chances of the treaty on strategic arms reductions being ready for signature in time for the next summit meeting, in other words by the end of June next year?

[Quayle] Of course, the chances have substantially improved since both leaders declared that they would like progress in this direction. It is true that some political decisions have yet to be elaborated—there are still the problems of air-launched cruise missiles, telemetry, and verification. They have to be tackled. Both leaders declared that they would give the bureaucrats a push. And if they say that they want to reach agreement, this means that there is a chance of agreement. As you realize, neither side would do anything to jeopardize its security by rushing into an agreement. But we would like to achieve accord on schedule. The President hopes that we will do so.

[Correspondents] Are there any other problems and difficulties along the path to the conclusion of an agreement, apart from the ones you mentioned?

[Quayle] As we understand it, the question of the treaty on space arms is not linked with the question of the treaty on strategic arms. This being so, the chances of reaching agreement on strategic offensive arms are that much better. There would be problems if there were to be again any talk of linkage. It is therefore important to ensure that SDI is not attached to the treaty on strategic offensive arms.

[Correspondents] You are one of the most influential champions of SDI in the present administration. What is the current U.S. stance on this question?

[Quayle] I do not think that it differs from the Reagan administration's approach. President Bush supports the SDI concept. He believes, just as I do, that as offensive nuclear arms are reduced, it makes sense to carry on research and development and, possibly, to carry out the deployment of the defensive component. In conditions of offensive arms reductions, the defensive component would be useful in the cause of preserving peace, the cause of strengthening the deterrent factor.

Just think: As the technology for creating ballistic missiles proliferates, there might emerge a threat that such weapons could be acquired by third world countries many of which, incidentally, are closer to the Soviet Union than to the United States. In such a situation the defensive component acquires growing importance. I believe that the more the Soviet Union thinks about SDI, the better the chance that it will change its attitude toward it. After all, we are talking not only about defense against ballistic missiles, not only about a threat by the United States, but also about a threat by other states.

[Correspondents] Do you believe that it will be the Soviet Union that will change its stance?

[Quayle] Yes, the Soviet Union. It is possible that you might wish not only to have the capability to attack in response to an attack, but also to have a more effective defense than at present against threats by third world countries. This is why SDI, a stumbling block in the past, could possible cease being one.

[Correspondents] As president of the Senate, do you believe that the Senate will ratify the treaty on the reduction of strategic arms?

[Quayle] The President will not sign a treaty which, in his opinion, will not be ratified by the Senate. Therefore the President expects that any treaty he submits to the Senate will be ratified. This does not mean that the Senate's role will be diminished, that various questions will not be asked. I was a senator for 8 years and I know how much attention will be given to consultations with the Senate. We have no desire to find ourselves in a situation where the Senate rejects a treaty, even though this possibility is always present. You saw what happened with the SALT II Treaty—we signed it but it was never ratified. We have no wish to see this repeated.

[Correspondent] What do you think, is it possible that history might appraise the Malta meeting more highly than we are doing at present? Did Malta not pave the way toward an end to the "cold war?"

[Quayle] We hope so. Even though, of course, only time will tell. I hope that Bush will be President for another 7 years. This is a considerable period to achieve an improvement in relations. It may be that with the passage of time and with hindsight we will be able to speak of many changes that occurred after originating in Malta. We have high hopes for improved relations, new opportunities, and easing of tension. But, while fostering these hopes, we must simultaneously maintain our (military—correspondents' note) readiness. This is how we will act.

[Correspondents] In what other spheres could we expand mutual cooperation?

[Quayle] We already spoke about Central America, and I would like you to realize how important this is for us. I hope that our point of view will be brought to your readers' knowledge. Many of us, in raising this questions, proceed from the Soviet people's interests. I hope that perestroyka will bring about democratization. We are talking about democratic values, in other words an open market, elections, reforms, and glasnost. The situation will improve as these reforms are implemented, and maybe then we will be able to say that we have left the "cold war" behind. But everything will depend on whether the democratic values of which President Gorbachev speaks are implemented. I believe that this is what he wants, and I know that President Bush holds the same point of view. We would like to help the implementation of these changes.

[Correspondents] Your words in support of perestroyka obviously reflect trends in U.S. public opinion. How would you describe the Americans' attitude toward changes in the Soviet Union?

[Quayle] I would describe it thus: Hope and optimism. Hope and optimistic confidence that changes will really take place and the Soviet Union will be really different. At the same time, an element of caution still remains. Generally speaking, Americans are bold and optimistic. But they are also cautious. Let's wait and see. They want to see actions because actions are more important than words.

[Correspondents] Do your words not echo a doubt about the reality of the changes occurring in the Soviet Union?

[Quayle] The changes are present. I am the first to admit what has to be admitted: Perestroyka is changing many things—changes in the political system, changes in the Supreme Soviet. Now you are allowing the existence of factions, as I see it, within the single-party system. This is also a change. Whereas disagreement was not allowed in the past, glasnost has allowed it now and this is especially important for you journalists. At the same time, there are grounds for caution. The Americans know that the Soviet Union is pursuing the modernization of strategic arms. Highly impressive—both quantitatively and qualitatively—Soviet Armed Forces still remain in East Europe.

The meeting in Malta was good, successful. The President believes that there is quite a good chance for the further improvement of relations. We have to wait and see how far we will get and how fast we will move. If changes occur in East Europe, if policy on regional problems improves, the world will be different. We are approaching the threshold of a new era, and we are approaching it with favorable expectations.

[Correspondents] Proposals about practical measures to aid perestroyka are being made in Europe. How could the United States assist it?

[Quayle] We could take certain steps to promote the success of perestroyka domestically. When the Supreme Soviet approves the emigration laws, there will be a possibility that the restrictions imposed by the Jackson-Vanik amendment will be lifted. As soon as this happens, conditions will be created to grant you most-favored-nation status, which in turn would mean more open borders for trade between our countries. There is also an opportunity for the Soviet Union's greater involvement in the work of GATT with observer status, which will make it possible to gain a better impression of how an open-market oriented economy functions. I believe that exchanges of students and businessmen will be able to play a positive role in relations between our countries. We expect that there will also be reforms in the foreign policy sphere... I hope that all this will be published in the spirit of glasnost. Right?

Primakov Receives U.S. Bar Association Group

LD0612173489 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The main areas of the USSR Supreme Soviet's activities and ways to perfect its legislative activity have been discussed at a meeting between chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union and alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo Yevgeniy Primakov, and a visiting delegation of the Association of American Lawyers.

The guests learnt about the changes that have lately taken place in the work of the Soviet parliament.

It was noted that it seeks to perfect the legal mechanism in order to put the important political and socio-economic reforms in the USSR on a firm legal basis.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD0712100389 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 7 TASS—Cooperation between Soviet and American lawyers can favourably affect the development of the legal systems of both countries, Leonard Chauvin, president of the American Bar Association, said.

The Soviet visit of the American Bar Association benefits both sides. The Soviet Union has a well-established arbitration system, he said at a news conference here on Wednesday. It was devoted to the results of the visit.

This experience should be used in the United States where arbitration is not as developed, and it could be wider used in examining drugs cases.

Chauvin said he was greatly impressed by the current positive tendencies in the sphere of law in the USSR, the Soviet legislators' desire to make the Constitution a living document and their determination to ensure independence of all areas of power in the USSR.

Chauvin praised the democratisation of the legal system protecting the rights of citizens and individuals.

Soviet specialists can also gain much from U.S. experience, according to Igor Blishchenko, deputy chairman of the Soviet Lawyers' Association.

The first step has already been made—seventeen Soviet specialists are now being trained in the United States at the invitation of the American Bar Association. Trainees will now be exchanged on a regular basis.

The guests, invited to the USSR by the Soviet Lawyers' Association, visited Uzbekistan and the Ukraine, met senior officials of Soviet law enforcement agencies and prominent representatives of the Soviet public.

The delegation was received by Soviet Justice Minister Veniamin Yakovlev, USSR Supreme Court chairman Yegveniy Smolentsev, USSR Prosecutor-General Aleksandr Sukharev and also chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union Yevgeniy Primakov.

The American lawyers will return home today.

China

Soviet-Chinese Relations Termed 'Very Good'

OW0712103289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Report on interview by reporter (Baruz Ablamov) with noted Sinologist (Miyasnikov); date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Listeners, I wish to tell you that a book entitled "The Soviet Union and China in the Changing World" was published last Sunday in Moscow. The book, published by the Soviet Press Publishing House, contains articles by Soviet experts on questions concerning Soviet-Chinese relations in various periods. Among the authors of this book is (Majinir Miyasnikov), a noted Soviet sinologist and doctor of history, who is also the deputy director of the Far East Institute of the Soviet Union. Our reporter (Baruz Ablamov) has asked him to comment on Soviet-Chinese relations at the present stage. The following are his comments:

[(Miyasnikov) briefly heard speaking in Russian] He said: We think that the present relations between the Soviet Union and China are very good with bright prospects for further development. This comment is based on the reality and the trend of development as we can see at this time. Following Gorbachev's visit to China, the relations between the two countries became normalized, and the relations between the two parties were resumed. This laid the foundation for the Soviet Union and China to continually develop their relations. Most important, the two countries are not satisfied with the level of development they have attained but are continuing to develop their relations.

(Miyasnikov) continued: First of all, I feel that there are good possibilities for us to further develop our political relations. Soviet and Chinese diplomats and military experts have just concluded their first meeting on disarmament and reduction of troops along border of the two countries. Talks on border issues have been held in Moscow and Beijing in turn. At the present stage, the main aspect of relations between our two countries is economic and trade cooperation. Moreover, we are exchanging experience in economic reform and seeking new forms of Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation so as to more effectively promote the economic construction of both countries. Soviet and Chinese scholars are now exploring new forms of such cooperation.

(Miyasnikov) further pointed out: It should be stressed that the development of broad economic cooperation is of great importance to those Chinese regions that maintain traditional economic ties with our country. Here I mean China's northeastern and northern regions and Xinjiang. The completion of a railway project from Urumchi in Xinjiang to the Sino-Soviet border can bring great economic benefits to China, because this railway links China through Soviet Central Asia to Europe. It is, therefore, not accidental that the railway is called the Silk Road of the 20th Century.

(Miyasnikov) concluded: As a member of the Central Board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, I am quite satisfied with the development of relations between the social organizations of our two countries. Now a representative office of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society will be established in Beijing. We hope that the China-USSR Friendship Association will likewise set up a representative office in Moscow. The 21st Century will see the full development of the friendly relations between our two countries and two peoples.

CPSU-CPC Ties Since Normalization Viewed

PM0712163989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[A. Krushinskiy article under the rubric "Reader Inquires": "Along Party Lines Too..."; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "Esteemed Editors! Many people now are interested to know what new elements have been introduced into Soviet-Chinese relations by the normalization of interparty ties achieved as a result of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to China last spring. N. Sokolov, propagandist, Leningrad City."

I remember attending 1 year ago a meeting between two party secretaries—Eduard Blinov of the Soviet settlement of Pogranichnyy and Qin Yude of the small Chinese city of Suifenhe. Each knew perfectly well precisely what post his partner held, but they introduced themselves as... "friendship society advisers." CPSU-CPC interparty relations had not yet been normalized, but it was not easy to resolve a number of complex questions of border cooperation without the participation of party leaders—and so a very transparent "disguise" was employed in the meetings.

It is clear from this example alone that the normalization of interparty ties is of tremendous, fundamental significance for our two countries.

It is clear that the party leaders of Pogranichnyy and Suifenhe, as well as of many other cities, districts, and regions which cooperate with each other, have now begun meeting "legally," so to speak, which means that various problems can be resolved more effectively and more promptly than in the past. Hence the conclusion: The normalization of CPSU-CPC relations is also having a beneficial effect on the sphere of purely economic ties (which, as is known, began to be organized before interparty ties). But, of course, this is not the full extent of its significance: Both sides also attach growing significance to an exchange of experience of party work at the level of central committees, as well as local party organs, to the development of ties between party scientific establishments, and so forth.

Speaking in September at the first news conference of the top party leadership elected at the Fourth CPC Central Committee Plenum, CPC Central Committee General Secretary Jiang Zemin pointed out, in particular, that there are excellent prospects for cooperation between the CPC and the CPSU and between China and the Soviet Union. Naturally, the development of interparty contacts, which were "frozen" in the recent past, is a serious, lengthy process, and specific steps are already being taken within its framework. A CPC delegation headed by Zhu Liang, head of the CPC Central Committee International Relations Department, visited our country this September. The exchange of journalists begun for the first time after a break of many years by the central party organs—PRAVDA and RENMIN RIBAO—is also of considerable importance. Local party organs, particularly in border districts, are also exchanging delegations.

I believe that it is particularly important for the future of interparty ties that they are developing on the basis of clear principles—the code, as it were, drawn up during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC: "The Soviet and Chinese sides agreed that the CPSU and the CPC will realize contacts and exchanges in accordance with the principles of independence, autonomy, full equality of rights, mutual respect, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs," Article 10 of the Soviet-Chinese joint communique adopted at the time states.

Northeast Asia

Far East Military Commander Interviewed

OW1012091389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Report from the "Soviet Far East News" program on an interview with General Viktor Novozhilov, commander of the Soviet Far East Military District, by an unidentified Moscow Radio reporter; date and place not specified—read by announcer; Novozhilov's recorded remarks in Russian fading into Japanese translation]

[Text] Today, we would like to talk about perestroyka in the Soviet Armed Forces, notably, that of the Far East Military District, which is most closely related to us. Now, we will broadcast an interview with Gen Novozhilov, commander of the Red Flag Far East Military District: "Unilateral Reductions of Troops Continue."

Gen Novozhilov says: Regarding the military's concept of perestroyka, the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference defined efficiency in the building of the Soviet Armed Forces with the [word indistinct] expression that it is determined by the [word indistinct] parameter [preceding word in English] of machinery, technology, military science, and the composition of troops. The building of the Armed Forces must be to guarantee the high confidence placed in the defense of the Soviet Union and its allies. At the same time, however, it must be conducted strictly in line with our defense doctrine in economic terms. One of perestroyka's conditions in the Soviet Union is democratization in social life. However, the military is not an exception in this regard.

The Far East Military District is striving to revive in an all-around way the realistic, not perfunctory, role of our society. In other words, I mean to say that we are striving to make activities of party and Komsomol—Communist Youth League—organizations truly creative and independent and to redouble the great potentials of committees and councils elected from meetings of officers and men and other collectives. The prevention of war is our supreme goal, the core of the defensive military doctrine, and the main mission of the Soviet state and its Armed Forces.

The content of military operations and combat preparations has remarkably changed; it clearly has become defensive in nature. Exercises conducted by the Far East Military District in recent years have all been based on the concept of defense, and the reorganization of mechanized units into machinegun artillery units [kikanju hoohei butai] is also under way. As everyone knows, this is purely for defensive purposes. In the next 2 years drastic reductions are planned for tanks, artillery pieces, rocket guns, combat aircraft, and other weapons, and military personnel are scheduled to be trimmed by 120,000 men in the entire Soviet Far Eastern region.

There are seven munitions plants in the Far East Military District which have been partly converted to production of civilian goods. They are scheduled to produce 671,000 rubles worth of civilian goods by the end of this year. In addition, a variety of (?machines) valued at 14 million rubles will be turned over to the private sector within this year.

At present, glasnost—openness—is assuming an increasingly dynamic aspect in the Soviet Union. The Armed Forces are no exception. We are inviting foreign observers and media representatives to military exercises in our Far Eastern region as well. The invitation of foreign military observers to an exercise conducted by the Soviet Pacific Fleet last July can be cited as an example. Although, regrettably, not all accepted the invitation, a precedent has been set.

What I want to particularly note here is the fact that, unlike the official military authorities of countries in the Asian and Pacific region, news media accurately reported the scenes of the military exercise, accepting our initiative. We plan to continue inviting foreign military experts and journalists to our military exercises in the future, and we hope that this will be reciprocal—like Soviet observers and journalists being invited to military exercises in neighboring countries.

Gen Novozhilov went on to say the following in reply to the reporter's question concerning unilateral reductions of forces in the Soviet Far Eastern region:

To the Chinese leadership, large units [dai butai] of the Soviet forces amassed along the Soviet-Chinese border for many years have been one of the obstacles to normalizing relations between the two countries. Hence, together with a set of other initiatives taken by the Soviet Government, the unilateral reduction plan for the Soviet Far East forces constituted the basis for smooth progress at the Beijing talks between top leaders of the Soviet Union and China.

As I have already stated, the strength of the Soviet forces in the Far Eastern region is scheduled to be reduced by 120,000 men by the end of 1990. This breaks down to a cutback of 12 divisions for the Army, the deactivation of 11 regiments for the Aviation Corps [kokutai], and the scrapping of 15 warships for the Pacific Fleet and other activities. In addition, tank units in the remaining mechanized division will be reduced and, as a result, the number of tanks in the Far Eastern region will be greatly curtailed.

These tasks involve not only technical and material aspects but also such social aspects as time and a considerable amount of expense needed for their abolition. So, it is not so simple to accomplish them. In other words, the military and other personnel who have no choice but to (?change jobs) also need to be treated reasonably and with consideration.

The discharged soldiers will find jobs which correspond to their occupations, but we must help those who have no such occupations find civilian occupations. In addition, we must guarantee them with housing and all necessities for normal living. This is the (?actual situation) and it is being taken care of now. So said Gen Novozhilov.

Regarding the unit composition of the Soviet forces deployed in the southern part of the Kuril islands and conditions necessary for their unilateral reductions, Gen Novozhilov said:

The force deployed in the southern part of the Kuril islands is only a machinegun artillery unit [kikanju hoohei butai] of the Far East Military District. Its operational capability is exclusively defensive in nature and its scope is also limited to within the islands. There are neither nuclear missiles, airborne units, landing craft, nor amphibious ships necessary for landing operations across the sea or a strait, nor transports or helicopters on that part of the islands at all. There are no places or facilities for receiving landing units like airborne or land combat units [rikusentai] there at all, either.

Troops deployed in the islands are limited to the minimum for defense. Therefore, in my opinion, there is nothing here which can be an object for unilateral reduction. The reduction of armaments here can be made possible only under the condition that the forces deployed in Hokkaido and other Japanese islands and South Korea as well as U.S. warships cruising in the sea off the Soviet coast thousands of nautical miles away from home are reduced.

Asked to evaluate the military power of Japan which, as everyone knows, has recently decided to increase military spending, the general said:

Today Japan's military power has come to occupy an increasingly greater position in the military balance in the Asian and Pacific region. The United States is trying to further reinforce its military power in the Pacific region, which is already superior to that of the Soviet Union, through the military power of its ally, Japan. However, the military capability of Japan goes far beyond the scope of concerted actions with U.S. forces in the region and the role of the Japanese military is becoming increasingly [word indistinct].

Several years ago, under pressure from the United States, Japan assumed the responsibility for the defense of 1,000 nautical miles of sea lanes and the blockade of international straits and deployed cruise missile units in Hokkaido for that purpose. In September this year, a joint Japan-U.S. military exercise was conducted and the Japanese forces' operational action in Hokkaido in time of a so-called emergency was (?carried out).

Although the specific name of the enemy was not entered in the exercise plan, judging from the fact that Sakhalin Island and [words indistinct] were assumed by the U.S. and Japanese Air Forces, this was apparent.

Some military theorists in Japan express their views that sooner or later Japan should discard its defense concept exclusively for self-defense and prepare a new military doctrine envisaging broad operations conducted not only in Japan or in its vicinity but also on the territory of a hypothetical enemy.

It should be especially mentioned here that more and more articles on the possibility of military actions by the Japanese forces with the Soviet Far Eastern region as the target are carried by Japanese newspapers and magazines. As an example, a serial article entitled, "Soviet Military Base in the Far East Crushed," carried by the GUNJI KENKYU [MILITARY STUDY] journal, can be cited.

Many Japanese news publicastions also call for considering committing (?guerrillas), which are very effective in destroying major industrial and military facilities under [words indistinct] conditions. Such hostile plans are camouflaged with various ambiguous expressions, but Tsukuba University Professor Nakagawa, military critic, asserts that by starting military actions on the territories of other countries, the sacrifice of many Japanese, the destruction of houses and property, and plundering of national land can be averted.

Thus, while the Soviet Union is carrying out unilateral arms reductions in its eastern region, Japan and the United States are reinforcing their armaments and activating their military activities in that region.

The Far East Military District of the Soviet Armed Force is exerting its utmost efforts for unilateral reductions of armed force under the defensive doctrine of the country and the principles of the new political thinking.

Therefore, we hope that our neighboring countries will (?follow suit) and stop reinforcing their military power and, instead, strive to create [word indistinct] conditions for fomenting the atmosphere of trust among nations. So said Gen Novozhilov.

Magazine Editor Interviewed on Ties With Koreas

SK1212092589 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 8 Dec 89

[First installment of interview with Vladimir Vorontsov, responsible editor-in-chief of the Soviet magazine FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS by unidentified station reporter, from the "Focus on Asia" program; date and place not given—Vorontsov's answers are recorded in Russian fading into Korean translation]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Mr Vladimir Vorontsov, I understand that you visited the DPRK recently, leading a delegation of the (?Union of the Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries). Would you tell me about your visit to the DPRK?

[Vorontsov] Our trip to the DPRK was very (?wonderful). We also participated in the functions celebrating the

72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Our delegation was invited to attend the functions. Our delegation toured various places, including enterprises, in Pyongyang, Haeju, and other cities. Everywhere we went, Korean friends extended warm hospitality, and members of our delegation express deep thanks for this. Our visit to this country was not the first. I visited this country in 1985 and 1987. However, what I found in Pyongyang was the fact that the city's appearance has completely changed.

The downtown of Pyongyang was adorned with many modern buildings such as outstanding hotels, Pyongyang [word indistinct], cultural centers, and sports facilities. What was regrettable was the fact that not many people were touring these sports facilities. As we found out later, [word indistinct] sports were less developed in the DPRK. The mass sports were [words indistinct]. We also toured (?schools) in Pyongyang. We visited a middle school. We were deeply impressed to see the music education provided for stuents. We were surprised to find that all of the students at the school could play more than two musical instruments. According to the school authorities, the students already learned how to play [words indistinct] musical instruments when they were in kindergartens. [passage indistinct]

The people in this country have a generally deep interest in our country. In other words, almost 70 percent of middle school students in this country learn Russian. I thought this was by no means accidental, for our two countries are linked by a river.

[Reporter] Mr Vorontsov, when we speak of the relations between the Soviet Union and the DPRK, it is natural for us to refer to the prospect of cooperation between the two countries. [words indistinct] in this connection, Soviet publications today have tended to raise critical voices. What do you think of this?

[Vorontsov] Yes, it is true. In the relations with the DPRK such criticism has not been regarded as serious. [passage indistinct] This was a unilateral [word indistinct]. We (?discussed) this issue with our Korean friends, and the last elections [passage indistinct]. Our cooperation [passage indistinct]

[Reporter] While your delegation was staying in the DPRK, various international events, that is to say, great changes took place in socialist countries. In other words, I am referring to the events that took place in the GDR. In the GDR the border collapsed. In addition to this, (?political changes) took place in Poland and Burgaria. When you arrived in Moscow, an event took place in Czechoslovakia. What was the DPRK's reaction to these events? How did the DPRK mass media comment on them?

[Vorontsov] I cannot say that local publications in the DPRK have widely informed their readers of these events or have commented on them. Korean friends whom I met the other day knew of this. I saw they had (?complaints) about this. Of course, their reactions were not unanimous and the same. We accept these changes as an (?inevitable) process in the reforms in socialist countries in the wake of perestroyka in our country. Indeed, this requires new measures for a solution and a new method of leadership [word indistinct] in the internal and external policies of these countries.

The course of social reform can be vigorous only when the role of the popular masses is great and when diverse opinions exist. To us, this is very (?clear) because our experience shows us into what swamp of stagnation the unanimous agreement on views had pushed us. However, such (?experience) has not been well understood by the Korean [choson] comrades. They raised general, logic questions concerning how they should deal with the (?lines) of the party. Other socialist countries conducted many debates about the issues discussed by many deputies during the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Viewing the atmosphere in the (?case) of the Korean friends, discussion itself of such issues is not acceptable. We hope that the course of reform taking place in our country and other socialist countries will be reflected in Korean publications, because books about such a course will not exist (?long). However, we have no right to interfere in their [word indistinct].

[Reporter] The title of the magazine, FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, is itself very suggestive. Political scholars, economists, and social movement activists who are renowned in the Soviet Union and other countries contribute to this magazine. Will you tell us more specifically about the (?nature) of your magazine and what countries the contributors to your magazine are from?

[Vorontsov] This magazine is designed to create favorable conditions for developing relations with all countries in order to guarantee peace and security. Our magazine's goals are to (?reflect) the principles of foreign policy of our nation.

An important part of the magazine is also related to the Korean issue. Our magazine gives priority to the articles concerning the Korean peninsula. The situation in Europe has been eased, first of all, with the reform course in Eastern European countries as a background; the situation on the Korean peninsula remains strained. Military excercises are under way early every year. A large U.S. Air Force base is there. In other words, armed forces, which are outside the scope of arms talks, are deployed there, as well as nuclear weapons.

Such nuclear weapons are not only for tactical purposes. This kind of assessment can be heard even in South Korea. Thus, we pay great attention to the Korean issue. We should point out not only the position of the DPRK but also that of South Korea. As you reporters know, our magazine carries not only reporters' articles. Some time ago, we published the thesis of an American professor who is well versed in the Korean issue and presently teaches in Hanyang University in Seoul. We also ask the North Korean side to offer articles for publication and [word indistinct].

We recognize the situation created on the Korean peninsula today. Our society and experts admit that two states exist on the Korean peninsula, although we do not officially recognize the ROK. We have established trade relations with Seoul. We sent a delegation of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and opened a mission of the Korea Trade Promotion Corporation in Moscow. Both delegations are assigned with consular functions in order to assist nongovernmental economic ties even on a limited scale. Needless to say, not everyone in the DPRK accepts our policy for developing relations with all nations for peace. As for our policy, we think that if the East European delegations, as well as diplomats, are stationed in the southern part of Korea, this will greatly help consolidate durable peace on the Korean peninsula. This is the very idea which some reporters of this magazine assume as a guideline.

[Station reporter] Dear listeners. You have now heard the first installment of our interview with Vladimir Vorontsov, responsible editor-in-chief of the magazine FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, by a reporter of this radio station. You will hear the second installment at the same time tomorrow.

Second Part of Interview

SK1212114589 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Second installment of an interview with Vladimir Vorontsov, responsible editor-in-chief of the Soviet magazine FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS, by unidentified station reporter, from the "Focus on Asia" program; date and place not given—Vorontsov's answers are recorded in Russiam fading into Korean translation]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] In the previous installment, Vorontsov discussed his visit to the DPRK, the prospects of cooperation between the Soviet Union and [words indistinct], events in the East European socialist countries, and his view on the DPRK's stand on these events. He also referred to the so-called Korea question. Vorontsov said that the magazine FAR EAST AFFAIRS pays particular attention to this issue. [Word indistinct], we approached the national reunification issue, a basic issue of the Korean peninsula. I talked to Korean people on this issue. [Word indistinct] stands on this issue were identical. They are: Korea must be reunified. Many people [words indistinct] peaceful coexistence between the two Koreas. What do you think of this?

[Vorontsov] Any (?advice) will not be helpful. The Korean people themselves must solve this issue. They are [words indistinct]. This is because the United States and the Soviet Union [words indistinct] what happened in Korea in 1945. The book "Korea [words indistinct] During World II" was published in 1962. Documents on [words indistinct] were quoted in this book. A document clearly pointed out: [passage indistinct]. In other words, the United States was based upon the policy of strength and [words indistinct] of strength. At one time, our country also [words indistinct] based upon this way of thinking. [passage indistinct] I again say that the reunification of the country is the matter of the Korean people themselves. However, before talking about reunification, I think, [words indistinct]. [passage indistinct] Even though the two sides advanced peace proposals in succession, one side is always (?trying to find) a good excuse to reject the other side's proposals, and [words indistinct].

Dialogue began in the early 1970's [words indistinct]. At that time, the first contact between Red Cross delegates took place. This contact resumed in 1985. At that time, home-visiting groups of separated families were organized, and art troupes were exchanged. [passage indistinct]

With regard to the peace proposals, the Soviet Union fully supports the DPRK's proposal for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone and its arms reduction proposal. The presence of U.S. forces in South Korea poses an obstacle to making progress in dialogue. (?We again feel suspicious about Washington over this issue.) For example, we feel suspicious about the issue of not deploying nuclear weapons. We demand strict regulation. We demand that the [word indistinct] of nuclear weapons be completely banned. We [words indistinct] the IAEA.

The DPRK takes a peculiar position. It signed the nuclear nonproliferation treaty in 1985 but has refused to sign the agreement on guaranteeing this according to the treaty. The contradiction is obvious here. While calling for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, the DPRK refuses to provide the International Atomic Energy Agency with a guarantee so that it can inspect all the (?relevant) facilities without (?exception). This position must be questioned.

[Reporter] This is the last question. [words indistinct] We know that you have been to the ROK. What was your impression of the ROK?

[Vorontsov] The ROK is now the world's tenth largest industrial state. In the meantime, the DPRK regards the ROK as completely subjugated to the United States and does not acknowledge this fact. I do not agree with this as I am a historian who views things from a realistic point of view. Neither do I agree to the position which regards the ROK economy as too ideal. For instance, (Haredo Zenhi Nuyekov), political commentator of the Central Television Broadcast, [words indistinct]. He told us [words indistinct] despite [words indistinct]. He failed to see [words indistinct]. The social problems of the ROK are very [word indistinct], and this is a subject of concern to the ROK leaders. Antigovernment demonstrations are staged, and college students and workers [words indistinct], demanding wage hikes and [words indistinct]. In South Korea, economy is [words indistinct]. In the meantime, the ruling circles are attempting to maintain political stability with military strength [words indistinct]. The experts studying Korea should correctly appraise this fact. They should debate the [words indistinct] and the demand for the development of economic relations between the ROK and other countries, and take into consideration the (?interest) of the DPRK [words indistinct]. [passage indistinct]

North-South Korea Contacts Viewed

SK0712050989 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Station commentary: "A Difficult Road Toward Cooperation. On the Result of the Talks on the Humanitarian Issue Between North and South Korea"; from the "Focus on Asia" feature]

[Text] Contacts have been held between delegates from South and North Korea in Panmunjom in recent months. The issue of mutual visits by separated families was discussed in the contacts. Our station commentator writes as follows:

According to available data, as a result of the division of the Korean peninsula and the Korean war, 1950-1953, more than 10 million Koreans have become separated families. These separated families view such a situation as a heartrending one. Accordingly, we can easily imagine the importance of the contacts between the two divided parts to solving the issue of separated families. We can easily imagine how ardently the separated families of the North and the South are looking forward to the contacts in Panmunjom having an positive result.

However, no remarkable progress has been made thus far in resolving the separated families issue. Both sides have failed to reach an agreement on the problem as to which cities in the North and the South should host the reunion of separated families. The problem as to how to organize the reunion of separated families, who have been separated for scores of years, is not a matter of principle. Nevertheless, no agreement has been reached on this issue. Both sides still stick to their guns.

All of this tells us how deeply the mutual distrust has built up between the two sides for many years, and how complicated the road to contact and reconciliation is for them. It is true that the hostile feelings between them that accumulated over scores of years is one of the factors resulting in the the two sides' failure to reach an agreement. However, both Pyongyang and Seoul have reasonable proposals. They also have a (?common) agreement. If these are realized, even partially, the road toward improving the political atmosphere on the peninsula will be opened through constructive dialogue.

Finally, let us take as an example the agreement reached in Panmunjom regarding the name and the flag of a single sports team from the North and South which will participate in the Beijing Asian Games in 1990. This was a first in history. I think that an (?agreement) which can be acceptable to both sides and [words indistinct] of reasonable negotiations are precisely the way of making progress in solving many pending issues related to the Korean peninsula. Among these issues is that of exchanging separated families.

Katushev Meets Mongolian Counterpart

PM1212095589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 6

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A working meeting has taken place between K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and P. Ochirbat, Mongolian minister of foreign economic relations and supply.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Soviet-Lao Trade, Payments Deal Signed

PM0712162589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[TASS report under general headline: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A protocol on commodity turnover and payments between the USSR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic for 1990 was signed in Moscow 1 December.

Lao Regime's Achievements Assessed

PM0712161789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Tsvetov dispatch under the rubric "2 December—the Day the Lao People's Democratic Republic Was Proclaimed": "Adherence to the Chosen Path"]

[Excerpt] Vientiane, December—[Passage omitted] At the Fourth Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Central Committee Plenum in February 1977, just over 1 year after the formation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], it was proclaimed that the country had entered the stage of socialist revolution. The tasks of strengthening the state sector in every possible way and forming cooperatives in the countryside were brought to the fore.

By following this course, the Lao people achieved definite successes. During the first 10 years of people's power the per capita global social product more than doubled, and per capita national income increased 60%. The fact that by 1985 rice production had doubled compared with 1975 was a major achievement. The question of the country's guaranteed food supply was resolved. Illiteracy had, on the whole, been eliminated in Laos by the end of 1984.

At the same time an objective analysis of the situation in the mid-80's showed that much remained in the old way.

Subsistence farming still accounted for two-thirds of the economy. Far from everywhere were the results of labor being exchanged through the medium of money.

"During those years we became convinced that the transformation and management of the economy mainly by means of administrative methods were slowing up the development of production and exchange and complicating the people's lives and the situation in the country as a whole," Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the LPRP Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers, pointed out. "All that required us to rethink and deepen our cognition of reality."

The foundations of the party's new course were laid at the Fourth LPRP Congress held in November 1986. Decisions of the subsequent Central Committee plenums concretized that course and moved it to a practical plane. Winds of renewal began blowing in Laos.

Lao Communists today assess the current stage of their revolution as a stage of the gradual improvement and development of the people's democratic system on the path to socialism. The chief socioeconomic task is to transform subsistence farming into a commodity economy. And this can only be achieved by changing the attitude toward all the structures of the Lao economy, which have acquired equal rights both in theory and in practice.

The present reality is this: Many, if not the majority of Laotians, are seeking to take advantage of the right accorded them. Business activity has increased. The number of licenses issued for entrepreneurial activity has increased 25% this year. Commodity turnover has increased sharply over the past year. The "open door" policy in foreign economic ties is eliciting a response from foreign partners.

At the same time renewal has also affected the state's economic activity. Its role became more noticeable with the commissioning of a ramified taxation system a few months ago. The principles of economic accountability and self-financing are being introduced in ever-greater depth in state enterprises.

The stage of renewal has put a great deal into political life. The country's first elections to the supreme organ of state power were held this year. Laws designed to lay the foundations of modern legal procedures in Laos were adopted at the LPDR Supreme People's Assembly session which ended recently. Work on the LPDR Constitution is continuing.

But even today Lao Communists are speaking not only of successes. They also see the difficulties and bottlenecks. On the eve of the national holiday, urging party members and the entire Lao people to worthily greet the 14th anniversary of the LPDR's formation, the newspaper PASASON, organ of the LPRP Central Committee, drew attention to instability in the production of foodstuffs, the continuing destruction of forests, the slow development of the handicraft and cottage-industry sectors of the economy, the imbalance in foreign trade, the falling exchange rate for the national currency, and the low standard of education and medical services. These problems are really acute, and the efforts of the party organizations of all the country's provinces are aimed at resolving them.

Laos is continuing to travel the path chosen in 1975. The Eighth LPRP Central Committee Plenum was held in Vientiane at the end of October to examine the ideological aspects of the present situation. Its work was described by Sisana Sisan, who was present there. The plenum confirmed the party's intention to continue the policy of renewing social life. The LPRP's adherence to socialism as the revolution's goal was emphasized.

Over the years of people's power my friend Sitkhikun [name as published] has become an engineer, having been educated in the Soviet Union. He is now preparing to join the party. He believes in its ability to lead the Lao people along the right road toward prosperity and happiness. Today, as in December 1975, the LPRP stands at the head of society's revolutionary transformation.

Defense Ministry's Kochetov Returns From Laos

PM0712120989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 4 December Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister, returned to Moscow from Vientiane after paying an official friendly visit to the SRV and Laos.

LPDR's Kaysone Phomvihan Arrives in Moscow

LD0712210989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1804 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow 6 Dec (TASS)—Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], arrived in Moscow today on his way to a visit to France.

At the airport he was met by Vladimir Gusev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

The welcoming party included Khamphong Phanvongsa, the LPDR ambassador to the USSR; Nguyen Manh Cam, the ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the USSR; and Leng Peng Long, the charge d'affaires of the State of Cambodia to the USSR.

ASEAN-Indochina Cooperation Viewed

OW0512060789 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Ivanov commentary]

[Text] New political thinking, the vital interests of mankind, and the ideological character of international relations undoubtedly have an important influence on the relations between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN] and Indochinese countries. Now both ASEAN and Indochinese countries are vigorously seeking a quick settlement of the Cambodian conflict which obstructs the situation in the region from returning to normal. All those countries agree that Southeast Asia should become a region of peace, freedom, and neutrality, a region of friendship and cooperation, and a region free from nuclear weapons. This will be a good foundation for the development of fruitful cooperation in various fields. It can be pointed out that this will be a favorable change in building and developing economic and trade relations between ASEAN and Indochinese countries. This will be particularly conducive to turning Indochina from a battlefield into a market as proposed by the Thai Government. For instance, in November two big Vietnamese industrial delegations visited Bangkok, Thailand, where they discussed with their Thai counterparts ways to develop cooperation in electronics and the metallurgical industries. Six Vietnamese machine-building factory directors will visit Thailand next month, with a view to seeking cooperation with their Thai counterparts.

Vietnamese delegations of various kinds have visited or are planning to visit Malaysia, Singapore, and other countries in that region. In Vietnam, 60 joint industrial and other ventures, with investments from foreign countries including ASEAN states, have been built or are under construction. One of the important cooperation programs is in tourism and the means of transportation that make tourism possible. The Thai Airways now have three flights to Hanoi every week, which carry tourists and industrialists. Vietnam is now linked by airlines to Indonesia and the Philippines. Air routes are soon to be opened between Singapore and several Vietnamese cities and between Kuala Lumpur and Ho Chi Minh City, an important foreign-trade center of Vietnam. Vietnam is currently oriented to a considerable extent toward the ASEAN countries in foreign trade.

These days people in ASEAN and Indochinese countries have been following closely Thai Deputy Prime Minister Phichai Rattakun's visit to Vietnam. This is the first visit to Vietnam by a high-ranking Thai official since the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1976. Rattakun said that there would be good prospects for the development of economic and trade relations between Thailand and Vietnam. In short, developments have brought hope to people. Surely, I believe that Southeast Asia will become a region of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation in the not-too-distant future.

Commentary Marks Thai National Day

BK0612041289 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Fine traditions have been established in the contacts between the Soviet Union and Thailand. The Soviet Union has paid much attention to Thailand, which is not only famous for its historic objects but has also proudly marched into the 21st Century. Thailand has continued to make greater economic achievements while the Soviet Union has implemented its perestroyka and glasnost which have created impressive results for the world political situation.

On the auspicious occasion of the Thai national day, Moscow Radio's Thai-language section members wish to optimistically view the possibilities which have enabled the people of the two nations to know and cooperate closer with each other.

Over the past few years, Soviet-Thai relations have witnessed rapid, positive changes. Decisions reached at last year's summit between the two countries have created new impetus for bilateral contacts. In the following year, the Soviet Union received the Thai justice, interior, and science technology, and energy ministers, as well as the president of the Thai Parliamentary Science Commission. Several teams of Thai businessmen also visited the Soviet Union that year, opening up many opportunities. This could be noticed in the fact that establishment of the Joint Soviet-Thai Trade Commission was necessary to explore new opportunities. This year, the commission held its first meeting in Moscow. Although the social and economic systems in Thailand and the Soviet Union differ markedly, the governments of the two countries have been able to hold meaningful discussions.

The progress achieved in this area has enabled visits by several Thai royal family members, including Crown Prince Maha Wachiralongkon and Princess Kanlayani Watthana. The crown prince remarked during a recent visit that our world has accumulated more positive experiences. His remark is true. More political leaders and statesmen have [words indistinct] and become aware of the necessity to discontinue the old views and the use of confrontation to solve very complicated international issues.

Considering Thai Prime Minister General Chatchai's initiatives at the regional level, it is evident that Thailand will not be left behind in the current trends. Cooperation between Thailand and Laos has progressed well. Diplomatic contacts between Thailand and Vietnam have been more active, all of which are aimed at finding ways conducive to solving the Cambodian problem in an appropriate manner. Elimination of regional conflicts will brighten up the general world political situation, turning it toward peaceful and humane principles.

During his tour of the Soviet Union the crown prince visited Kiev and met with Ukraine Supreme Soviet President Valentina Shevchenko. The president recalled her visit to Chiang Mai, where the queen showed her roses which came from plants which were brought from Ukraine 100 years ago. The excellent care enabled the Ukraine rose plants to make strong roots in Thai soil.

On the auspicious occasion of the birthday of the king of Thailand, the Soviet people wish the Thai people continued prosperity and maintenance of Soviet-Thai relations based on mutual respect, understanding, and desire for peace, which are as deeply rooted as the Ukraine roses.

Commentary on U.S. Assistance in Philippine Coup

HK0912065389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Commentary by Viktor Vladimirov]

[Text] The sixth coup d'etat attempting to grab political power from the Aquino government has again failed. But what was notable in this coup was the current administration's move to seek military assistance from the U.S. Government. The Aquino government received air support from U.S. Phantom jet flyovers from Clark Air Base, as well as antitank weapons from U.S. depots, which matched those of the rebel forces.

The countries of Southeast Asia have again given their attention to the Pentagon's two largest military bases outside the United States—Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines—and particularly to their role in the region. These facilities service the U.S. 7th Fleet and airplanes of the Pacific Command. The bases store ammunition and weapons which U.S. soldiers would use in case of an emergency situation in Asia and the Pacific. The strategic location of these bases cannot be matched. Thus, the Pentagon cannot allow them to be dismantled. There is no basis for this fear. According to the Military Bases Agreement, the military facilities will have to be terminated in September 1991. Meanwhile, moves by various Philippine groups indicate a growing resentment against the continued presence of the U.S. military bases. More Filipinos are more aware that the hundreds of millions of dollars paid by the U.S. for its bases cannot equal Phlippine sovereignty.

On the other hand, the events related to the failed coup reveal the U.S. role in the country. It will be recalled that preliminary talks on the bases between the Philippine and U.S. Governments were scheduled to start in mid-December, but were postponed because of the coup.

In past months, Washington has been pressuring Manila, so that the latter has softened its stand, and the coup has further strengthened U.S. leverage in the talks. Many observers in the Philippines believe that the Aquino government's position has been sabotaged because the U.S. military assistance during the soldiers' rebellion has favored Washington. This is why the Aquino government has received criticisms both from the left and the right.

According to MALAYA, it is impossible for the country to recover from this incident, particularly on the issue of national pride. Meanwhile, the countries of Southeast Asia believe that the Philippines' internal affairs are being influenced by the U.S. military presence. This was said in the JAKARTA POST. It further said that Philippine Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus will continue trying to convince neighboring ASEAN countries that the bases are important for regional security.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Remarks on Mideast Role in Malta Talks

JN1112152289 Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 8 Dec 89 pp 15-16

[By Dr Sami 'Amarah in Moscow]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Middle East question was the last of the points discussed during the Malta summit, President Gorbachev has said in answer to a question posed by AL-MUSAWWAR. This means that the Americans succeeded in delaying the discussion of this question, which the Soviets used to regard as Question No. 1 in their documents and on their list of regional problems, which included eight points, of which the Central American question was No. 7. [passage omitted]

Regarding the Middle East, Gorbachev answered a question from AL-MUSAWWAR by saying: We discussed this question with President Bush. I can only say that we have just discussed it in detail. I believe both sides are aware of the need to exert all possible efforts, whether individually or in coordination with each other, to resolve this conflict, a conflict which has been going on for too long and which has a negative influence on the entire international situation. It seems to me there is agreement that a practical and realistic opportunity now exists to begin the settlement process, and this opportunity must not be wasted because the situation is changing rapidly; and we believe we are performing our role in this regard. [passage omitted]

On the way back to Moscow aboard the Soviet airplane, the AL-MUSAWWAR correspondent asked the Soviet official spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, for details about what was discussed at the summit on this topic. He said: President Bush asked President Gorbachev to discuss the restoration of diplomatic ties with Israel, and President Gorbachev told him that contacts with Israel do exist. However, regarding diplomatic ties with Israel, Gorbachev said they depend on changes in Israel and Shamir's policies. Gerasimov added that both the United States and the Soviet Union emphasize cooperation to achieve a comprehensive political settlement in the Middle East. [passage omitted]

IRNA Stand on Malta Talks Criticized

NC0812125489 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] All the major world mass media continue to comment on the results of the unofficial meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush. The gist of the majority of reactions to the summit in Malta is that this meeting will be recorded in history.

Nevertheless, there are other comments too. Such a view has been expressed by IRNA. Our analyst Yuriy Andreyev writes on this:

One may approach each political incident differently. Effective international relations is too complicated and dynamic to expect common views to exist on all topics. Only extremely optimistic people think that in this world of contrasts all countries can immediately understand each other's intentions and adopt a common view on the difficult problems of the contemporary era.

However, more and more each day optimism about and faith in the future and an effort to understand the intentions of the other side is becoming the philosophy behind contemporary policy and an ordinary phenomenon. New approaches to international affairs are not formed automatically and immediately. These approaches are the fruits of a great deal of work which are reaped during joint activities and through talks among the most disparate forces.

The meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders in Malta again emphasized the fruitfulness of a new political approach and opened new horizons to international cooperation.

Our analyst then writes: I think that IRNA did not consider this very issue in its comments on the results of the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush. This comment said that this is the 17th meeting between the two heads of state during the past 36 years. However, it will undoubtedly not be recorded in history as the most fruitful of these meetings, especially since—according to IRNA—Mikhail Gorbachev's stand in these talks was weak.

IRNA concludes by saying: As for the decisions and agreements adopted, it should be said that the meeting between the two heads of state was not fruitful and was only turned into an extensive propaganda campaign for the West.

As you know, a relatively strong stand has been adopted. But let us see how this stand squares with the outcome of the Soviet- U.S. talks.

The talks between Moscow and Washington were primarily related to the most important problem for mankind: whether Europe, America, Asia, and the other parts of the world can live without any worries, today and tomorrow, about their security. Does our human civilization not have the right to ask this question decisively? Of course, the tempest of war may not take place at all, or may be next to us without affecting us. But one cannot rely on this.

Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush reiterated that it is necessary to strive jointly to prevent a universal nuclear holocaust. Moreover, they were able to reach an agreement on carrying out strategic progress for this. In mid-June 1990, the United States and the Soviet Union are expected to sign an agreement on a 50% reduction of strategic weapons.

Can one not consider this outcome to be fruitful? It does not seem that the issue of general security for mankind can be described as propaganda ping pong. This issue is more significant than becoming a means for political exploitations.

Our analyst Yuriy Andreyev then writes: I think that many Iranians understand this. People who have been through the test of a horrific 8-year war undoubtedly understand well the idea of peaceful cooperation and of refraining from a nuclear confrontation. But can IRNA possibly have another view?

It is only necessary to point out that the Malta meeting was an important force for progress in talks on banning chemical weapons. Currently discussions are under way on a universal ban on this weapon.

As Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said at his news conference, the possibility has now been created for us to move rapidly toward this objective. Do these acts indicate a propaganda campaign? I think not.

During the meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders, the strategy for eliminating chemical weapons was drawn up; and this applies to everyone without any exception. Meanwhile, this issue is especially sensitive to the Iranians. As we all know, Iran repeatedly reported the use of chemical weapons against its defenseless people throughout the war. But now IRNA does not see any positive progress having been made toward this. What an odd blindness. But the oddest point is that IRNA considers Mikhail Gorbachev's stand in the Malta talks to have been weak. Of course, one can consider refraining from confrontation, threats, reliance on force, and from increasing arms and psychological pressures as a so-called weakness. But we think that these are the very points that form the policy of new thought—a policy that has become a manifestation of contemporary international relations. The idea of communism is not declining in any way. It is the rotten patterns of permanent confrontation, bullying, considering oneself to be an exception, and imposing one's views on others that are in decline and shattering.

The new era demands the expression of new approaches. The new Soviet leadership has shown that it is capable of propounding such approaches. Some poeple will always have doubts, but it is necessary to be realistic when assessing incidents.

Yuriy Andreyev writes in conclusion: I think that it is this very point that shows the shortcoming and weakness in the IRNA commentary.

Iran Urged To Revise Human Rights Stand

NC1012114089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] Iranian officials have invited the representatives of the UN Human Rights Committee to visit Iran to inspect the way Iranian prisoners are treated and, in general, to become acquainted with the human rights situation in the country.

The invitation extended to the members of this committee is an answer by the new Iranian leaders to criticisms from abroad of the human rights situation in Iran. Our commentator writes on this:

The former Iranian leadership ignored these criticisms. Despite protests by the world public, the former leadership continued its repressions against heterodoxies and inflicted the most pitiless tortures. On the basis of figures published by Amnesty International, during the last 6 months of the past year 1,200 political prisoners were hanged in Iran. Reports were received from almost all the provinces on the torture of political prisoners; and one of the common punishments was amputation or the cutting off of the four fingers of the right hand.

The situation of human rights in Iran has deteriorated so much that this issue was brought up at the last UN General Assembly session and a resolution condemning repressions in Iran was approved.

The present Iranian leaders are trying to remove past criticisms, but this is not a simple matter. Conservative forces among the Iranian clergymen oppose democratic developments and impose their supervision over the acts and thoughts of the people. They want Iran to remain the sanctuary of feudalistic laws and traditions. And they reject the call by Iran's democrats and peace seekers for Iran's laws to conform to the UN Human Rights Declaration.

The reasons given for this are very peculiar. The opponents of Iran's democratization allege that the UN Human Rights Declaration is a product of Western capitalism and claim that this declaration is not in line with Islamic values. But this is not true. The UN human rights document was compiled on the basis of legal experience, both in the West and in the East, and is filled with humanitarian and just ideas and is a manifestation of civilized attitudes toward human rights.

It seems the Iranian Government's [word indistinct] efforts to improve the human rights situation and move toward the democratization of the country will not be immune from the influence of the conservatives. For example, the efforts to introduce a multiparty system are limited to the formation of groups which—under various masks—justify anti-democratic norms. The plans concerning the labor law and land reform become a means of attacking the rights and interests of the toilers. Or let us look at the recent general amnesty. The official news pointed out that the general amnesty would not apply to speculators, hoarders, criminals, addicts, and members of [word indistinct] groups and organizations. The question is: Who will the general amnesty apply to and what does it have to do with [word indistinct] and justice? Such general amnesties have been repeatedly announced in Iran during the past decade, but neither the Iranians nor the international organizations supporting human rights have taken them seriously. Everyone knows that true progress in improving the human rights situation cannot be achieved without lifting the ban on the political activities of opposition forces and without releasing political prisoners.

With (?the existence of) old tattered approaches toward human rights it will not be difficult to limit the activities of the UN Human Rights Committee in Iran to (?listing) the successes scored by the regime in creating model prisons and to [word indistinct] of prisoners. But this is not the only thing the Iranians and the world want.

IZVESTIYA Notes Iraqi Space Launch

PM1112153389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report under the rubric "TASS, REUTER, UPI Reports": "Iraqi Space Rocket Launched"]

[Text] Iraq has announced the successful launch of a carrier rocket in space. This is the first official confirmation that Iraq is seriously engaged in the development [razrabotka] of technology for outer space exploration and the creation [sozdaniye] of long-range rockets. The three-stage carrier rocket was launched from the "Al-Anbar" Space Exploration Center 5 December. The rocket is 25 meters long, weighing a total of 48 tonnes.

New Indian Premier Acknowledges Congratulations

PM1112121189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Indian Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh message of thanks: "To USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] I thank the USSR Government for their congratulations and good wishes on my election as India's prime minister.

The ties of friendship and cooperation between India and the Soviet Union are traditionally firm and stable. These relations, which have deep roots, enjoy universal support in both countries, reflect the aspirations of our two peoples, and grow increasingly strong year by year. My government firmly intends to continue strengthening

Indian-Soviet cooperation in all spheres to our mutual benefit for the sake of peace, disarmament, and development.

Let me take this opportunity to wish the Soviet leadership all the best and wish the friendly Soviet people continued progress and prosperity.

[Signed] Vishwanath Pratap Singh, prime minister of India.

Katushev, Pakistan's Zafar Sign Trade Pact

PM1212100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 6

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Talks have been held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations with a Pakistani Government delegation on questions of bilateral trade and economic cooperation.

During the talks an agreement was signed on cooperation in expanding a metallurgical plant in Karachi. The agreement was signed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and R.S. Zafar, Pakistani minister of state for production.

Israel Obstructs Palestinian Self-Determination

LD1112220389 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

The Palestinian uprising in the West Bank of [words indistinct] Gaza Strip aimed at putting an end to Israel's occupation of native Arab lands and the creation of a sovereign Palestinian state, is now in its third year.

The very fact that the uprising continues despite terror by the Israeli military administration attests to the Palestinian people's resolve to achieve freedom and end suffering and indignities.

The Palestinians' courage evokes respect and sympathies. The intifadah has become a serious political (?endeavor). This cannot be ignored by anyone, Israel included.

What is more, the intifadah has brought home to the Israeli public the need for a sober approach to the solution of the Middle East conflict, the conflict to which the Palestinian problem is central. There are different plans in Tel Aviv to end the intifadah.

One of them is the Shamir plan to hold elections on the occupied territories and introduce a regime of limited self-government in the framework of persisting Israeli domination on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This plan was rejected by the Palestinians because it did not visualise any role for the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the sole, lawful representative of the Palestinian people, and excluded any prospect of the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

The world community has long since recognised Palestinians' equal right with Israelis for self-determination and peaceful and secure life in their native land.

It is Israel alone that raises objectives to Palestinians' self-determination. This is done with the United States' connivance.

This situation is the main cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

And although of late there have been many proposals for its settlement, there has been no progress.

There are two explanations for this: First, far from all proposals are in keeping with the basic principle of a fair solution—the balancing of interests of the warring sides. Second, all international efforts to achieve the reconciliation of the [words indistinct] by Israel.

Following the recent decisions of the United Nations General Assembly, additional chances emerged for an international Middle East conference. It may lead to a fair settlement in the region due to which the Palestinian people will gain their native land. And the Israeli people, as well as Arab peoples, will achieve reliable [words indistinct].

The conference's success can be promoted only by the resolve of all sides to (?press) not merely for the settlement of the conflict situation in the Middle East, but also for the creation of a new model of relations that would be based on the primacy of generally recognised norms and mainstays of international law, on the principles of equal security and free development of all peoples of the region, the Palestinian people included.

Israeli-Palestinian Compromise Urged

TA0812185589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories has just completed its 2d year. For 2 years now the young men and women have been conducting the revolution of the stones, as the events are being called in the western press, demanding an end to the occupation and the freeing of their lands on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Although the authorities are using an iron-fist policy, and despite the hundreds of fatalities, thousands of casualties and detainees, the thousands of houses being sealed up, and the deportations, the intifadah continues. The Palestinian popular uprising, which is using the methods of nonviolent civil revolt, leads to the conclusion that the status quo ante cannot be restored.

The rebellion is an expression not only of the intensification of the Palestinian struggle for freedom and independence, but also an expression of the real changes in Palestinian thinking.

The Palestinian national movement has made a diplomatic breakthrough, too, by recognizing Israel's right to exist and by calling on it to cooperate. Although this gesture of Palestinian goodwill was rejected by the Israeli Government, world opinion believes the time has come to take new measures to bring about a just, peaceful settlement in the Middle East and solve the main problem, that of the Palestinians.

In the USSR's view, the main mission today is to destroy the old-fashioned political concepts preventing the start of the peace process. The Israeli Government must act with discretion and seek a compromise with the Arabs. It should be pointed out that in our era of medium-range missiles, even strategic missiles, the claim about secure borders and the strategic importance of the West Bank for Israel's security is no longer valid. The intifadah also ended the dream of a de facto annexation of the occupied territories. The situation is such that the only argument left for the Israeli circles interested in persisting with the occupation is the Bible, but that is a weak foundation that cannot be used as a basis for a policy. In the USSR, as you listeners know, there is at present a controversy over the meaning of the intifadah and its repercussions. For example, Aleksandr Bovin, IZVESTIYA's political commentator, wrote that the intifadah does not advance the peace process and endangers the negotiations for a political settlement. On the other hand, Aleksandr Smirnov, the NOVOSTI commentator, believes it does promote peace because it shows Israeli society that the occupation cannot last forever.

In our view, the intifadah did fulfill a certain role. The Palestinians reached the conclusion that they must recognize Israel, express readiness to negotiate with it, and attain coexistence and peace. Both sides must now seek acceptable compromises. We must convene a Middle East international conference that will provide guarantees to all the parties involved in the conflict. We believe time is running out and we must not miss the opportunity created. Each side involved in the conflict must act for reasons of goodwill and pragmatism. The USSR, for its part, is prepared to organize an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue to deal with the entire spectrum of problems.

Vorontsov Receives Palestinian Amity Group 4 Dec

*PM1112164789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
5 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] On 4 December Yu.M. Vorontsov [USSR first deputy foreign minister] received a Palestinian-Soviet Friendship Society delegation headed by Abu-'Ali Mustafa, member of the PLO Executive Committee, which is in the Soviet Union to take part in events marking the International Day of Solidarity With the Palestinian People.

The delegation members talked about the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories, the Palestinians' continuing peaceful uprising there, and the occupying authorities' repressions against the civilian population. Both sides voiced resolute condemnation of these illegal acts and unanimously stressed that they must immediately be stopped.

Yu.M. Vorontsov confirmed USSR support for the PLO's constructive and realistic policy founded on the decisions of the 19th Palestine National Council and solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle for their national rights.

Vorontsov Meets Bangaldesh Ambassador 30 Nov

*PM1212102589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 6*

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 30 November Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received A.K.M. Nazrul Islam, Bangladesh ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentary Views De Klerk Policy, RSA Reforms

*MB1012110489 Moscow in English to Southern Africa
1900 GMT 9 Dec 89*

[Text] Fast as the situation in South Africa has been changing lately, the main question is still the same: What awaits the country?

There are no more doubts now that the reforms conducted by the De Klerk government are not the notorious (?red) painting or touching up of the facade.

But, will the reform bring about a real rejection of the system of apartheid? Or will this process stop after some easing up?

Here's the viewpoint of an African service commentator, Igor Patovskiy:

Now that the question is put in this way, there is a quite natural desire to find the answer by comparisons, by analogies. Whether the comparisons are proper has always been a difficult question, the more so in the complex, nationwide processes of reform of societies. But, it is even more difficult to speak of the situation as absolutely unique in conditions of some particular countries.

After all, the world lives by one and the same laws, and South Africa's far from the first state in the world that faces a need of radical democratic changes.

I first heard about the possible analogy between what is happening in South Africa and the Soviet Union half a year ago from a South African political analyst, Professor Johannes Degenaar. He found some processes that have appeared under conditions of perestroyka a good basis for studying the issues of state building in South Africa. He said this [word indistinct] that the press have already called President De Klerk, before his election, as Gorbachev of the southern hemisphere.

And, yet, what are things in common between the two states, whose policies are essentially at the opposite poles?

In both states there's the aim of deep changes in society, of its greater democracy. In both states the governments offer their programs of reform and have conservative opponents, as well as radicals, not satisfied with the pace of changes.

I (?can't) allow that these comparisons are purely external. They don't touch the essence. But whereas Soviet scholars in their search for optimal solutions turn more and more often to the experience of past years, to the history of the socialist revolution of 1917 in Russia, the reforms of Nikita Khrushchev, who was the nation's leader for 10 years, why not recall this when the reforms in South Africa are concerned?

In a most general way, the differences about President De Klerk's reforms boil down to this:

The radicals claim that the proposed measures are not enough; the direction is right, but the reforms should be more drastic and carried out faster.

In their turn, conservatives believe that the government has already gone too far, and, instead of unjustified concessions, there must be tough measures.

It is unrealistic to reconcile the radicals and the conservatives.

Where is the way out for the government? With the leftists against the rightists? Or with the rightists against the leftists? Or singly against all others?

Right after the September elections, when Mr De Klerk assumed office, the dominant point in forecasts was a notion that the government could not avoid a union with the opposition, rather, with the (?rightists)?

Some time later, after a recent rally of the ANC [African National Congress] in Soweto that was practically illegal, there appeared an opposite notion that the government's positions were moving to the left. To the satisfaction of the conservatives, there was a sobering up then.

Later, again there was a concession to the leftists: the repealing by the president of the rules of petty apartheid [word indistinct] but soon afterwards Mr De Klerk, for the first time, went back definitely on one of the main conditions advanced by the ANC for talks with the government. A few days later there was a severe blow on the positions of the conservatives: the president's decision to reform the security apparatus in order to place the country in government control.

Thus, there has been an obvious vacillation to slightly the left and slightly to the right, though the government does not give up the essence of its plans even a little bit.

What's next then?

Such interspersed concessions cannot go on forever. Sooner or later a clash of the irreconcilable interests is inevitable. So, is President de Klerk with the conservatives against liberals, against the leftists?

This is not new. Some time ago a book was published in the USSR. It first appeared in New York 13 years ago and is written by (Aleksandr Robinovic). It is titled: *Bolsheviks Come to Power.* The author believes that the main question as to why the Bolsheviks won in the power struggle in 1917 does not have one single answer.

However, it is important to note that an armed uprising became possible only after the government had made a direct attack on the left forces. The masses supported the Bolsheviks, and not because they somehow liked to see the Bolsheviks come to power alone, but because they felt that their revolution was threatened. Only the creation of a representative, fully socialist government—which the Bolsheviks stood for, as the masses believed—could give them hope that there would be no return to the hated life under the old regime.

Are these points made by (Aleksandr Robinovic) valid? Not quite. With a natural discount for the difference in the concrete conditions, the very principle, as applied to the present situation in South Africa, gives reason for (?pondering). The liberally-minded quarters in South Africa—for example, President de Klerk's brother, Willem de Klerk—believe that the government has no alternative to greater democracy.

What about the conservatives? The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, noted recently, for instance, that in the process of profound changes in society conservatives pose a greater danger than radicals.

So what? With liberals against conservatives, against the rightist, or kill the very notion of opposition? [question as heard]

This happened in the past, too. Speaking about the reforms of Nikita Khrushchev that began and petered out in the 1960s, an eminent Soviet scholar, (Gavriel Popov), the economist, noted, and I quote, it was necessary to remember that there is no democracy without an opposition, including a conservative opposition, unquote.

But, politics do not tolerate a vacuum. Where democracy ends, dictatorship begins.

All that has been said above can bring one to think that I am proving the absolute infallibility of actions by

President De Klerk. Far from so. I am out to prove something else. The only things there is no alternative to are [word indistinct] and realism in action, whoever is involved.

As for President De Klerk's program, it is not faultless, naturally. It is probably absurd to argue about the correct direction of the program. But any program of any reforms inevitably carries in itself a seed of failure. Whether that seed grows depends on the reformers. In the long run, democratic reforms become irreversible only at the moment when the personal ambitions of the person who started them give place to democracy proper.

Speaking concretely about Mr De Klerk's reforms, I will again commit myself to resort to an analogy and, to quote (Gavriel Popov), the economist, about the failed reforms by Khrushchev, quote, the Soviet premier found himself in the position of a leader who had no habit to look hard at the men and women he led. To be more exact, he did not know how to look at them hard. But again there emerges a question: Using an image, how did he get the role of chairman of a meeting with the know-how of democratically pushing at this meeting earlier prepared answers to proposals, and being obviously not ready to formulate as a decision what the majority of those at the meeting want, unquote. [sentence as heard]

Unfortunately, this is the most sustained analogy today of the ones that come to one's mind.

It's a fact that the time of trustful reformers is, as a rule, short.

De Klerk Policy, White S. African Opinion Viewed

MB0912112689 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 7 Dec 89

[From the "South Africa Today" program, read by announcer; Aleksandr Fedorov]

[Text] A total of 60 percent of white South Africans are said to be supporters of equality in race relations.

This follows a statement in Pretoria by the deputy in charge of South Africa's legislative commission, (?Professor) Olivier. The commission produced a working document on human rights, recommending the government to revoke the country's unfair legislation on race discrimination.

Commentary is by Aleksandr Fedorov:

Outlooks and views seem to be changing fast. Last opinion polls, held nearly a year ago, produced a much more modest figure. The current situation in South Africa resembles, in a way, what was happening in former Rhodesia in the run-up to the memorable event of 1980, when Ian Smith said (?racist) whites there would (?stiffen) as sheep would learn to drive other sheep away from pastures. I wonder if South Africans see an equivalent to this end.

But, the number of Smiths is dwindling, while that of the (?sane) supporters in the country is growing, and Mr Olivier's statement is no acception.

Until this September there weren't many who believed that the conservatives ruling in Boksburg, who, to prowar doctrine, would sustain a thundering defeat. [sentence as heard] The hail of accusations they faced from all over the country after introducing a miniapartheid may have been akin to that of famous thunderstorms in Transvaal.

In the past it would have been inconceivable to speak about the African National Congress [ANC] without adding a string of adjectives used by the authorities. But times have changed, and the president himself is having to consider, albeit unsuccessfully, proposals from the ANC.

And, what is more unbelievable, too, is that one judge would ever condescend to review the death penalties meted out to Africans, replacing them with more lenient prison terms. The judge who did just that in Cape Province recently is reported to have been guided by evidence presented by experts in social psychology who proved that uncontrollable behavior could be prompted by mob emotions. The judge may also have been led by common sense, forbidding blind attitudes on the sense of racial differences.

No doubt such examples of understanding result from changes which (?occurred) in the country after the arrival in office of Frederik de Klerk. Both the Nationalist Party's program and president's speeches reiterate the right to freedom by all race groups in South Africa.

The initial (?talks), which may have been in the order of the day elsewhere, have been made to offset fears that an ungovernable flood of blacks would one night stream into white cities.

For its part the ANC also believes that Mr De Klerk won good reputation among the country's democrats in the course of his election campaign. Although the Africans approve of his decision to release Walter Sisulu and his associates and reverse the ignominious regulations on miniapartheid, the ANC believes the existing emergency laws tend to intensify chaos.

Nor have the authorities relinquished their crackdown on apartheid opponents, and they have figures to back it up. More than 100 newsmen were arrested in August and September for an attempt at reporting antiapartheid protests, nearly 300 Africans detained, and as many as 46 peaceful demonstrations broken up.

No one certainly expects Mr De Klerk to revoke overnight the laws introduced by his predecessors. There is a backlog of problems, and the number of those [who] want (?a reverse of their part) is many.

For her part, Mrs Nadine Gordimer, a South African writer whose views are heeded by whites, feels that the government's gestures are far from being (?neutral). Mr Sisulu's release came days before the Commonwealth conference, in an overt attempt to avoid sanctions. She thinks Mr De Klerk is now planning to play a Nelson Mandela card.

But what does he want in return? An end to criticism by the world community? Or to prevent renewed mass protests in the country? These and other questions remain to slow down the process of understanding in South Africa, not only at present, and to have a negative effect in the initial stages of a democratic state in the future.

African National Congress Official Interviewed

MB0912131189 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] A member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa, Mr Thabo Mbeki has been on a visit to Moscow. Describing the situation in South Africa to our correspondent, the ANC envoy refuted the press reports alleging that his organization intends to enter into direct negotiations with the government in Pretoria. Mr Mbeki called for unity of all the progressive forces in the struggle against apartheid.

[Begin recording] [Mbeki] Well, you know, the question of unity is of strategic importance within the struggle for national liberation in South Africa. It's a matter to which the ANC has always paid maximum attention. We've always wanted the unity of all forces opposed to the system of apartheid, a unity of all the forces committed to a democratic South Africa, to ensure that they act together against the apartheid system.

That sort of unity that we are talking about is going to find expression, for instance, in the conference planned for the beginning of December in Johannesburg, the Conference for a Democratic Future. And that conference will draw all sorts of democratic forces, antiapartheid forces, black and white, workers, women, youth, professionals, religious bodies, and so on. It's a matter, as I was saying, it's a matter of strategic importance that all of these forces that are opposed to apartheid should get together and agree on a perspective as to what kind of South Africa they want; that they should get together and address the question of how they can act together to expedite the process leading to the abolition of the apartheid system by all means, using all methods of struggle.

I would say that the situation in South Africa today is that the level of unity among all of these forces has never been higher than it is today.

[Reporter] Can you tell to our white listeners in South Africa who supports this liberation struggle?

[Mbeki] Well, I mean, white South Africans would know—those who have a certain level of political consciousness—that the ANC and all sorts of other forces in the country, the United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions, that (?would) say in the Freedom Charter that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. We stick very firmly by that proposition.

But we would like to see white South Africa playing a role in the creation of the kind of South Africa which shall belong to all of us. This means that we want even more whites than has happened up to now, even more whites to repudiate the apartheid system, to see themselves as belonging to one South Africa. And not only to repudiate in words, but to participate in the struggle to end the apartheid system. And we'd like to see more whites involved in the defiance campaign; we'd like to see more whites involved in everything that the rest of the democratic movement is doing, because it is important that they do not stand aside and wait and see a democratic South Africa emerge, and kind of wait on the sidelines, trying to find out what those who would have participated in the struggle against apartheid, waiting to see what they would do with South Africa. [sentence as heard]

We are saying that it's important that those whites would themselves be involved in the struggle to end apartheid, because in that way they place themselves in a very good position to participate in the process of determining what kind of South Africa we shall have.

We, of course, have been very encouraged by the numbers of whites who have been involved in the struggle, and to know that there are very many who are even serving prison sentences. There are some, like David Webster and others, who have been assassinated. This is an indication. These people are indicating precisely the point that there is a necessity for as many whites as possible to be involved in the struggle. And, as I say, in the end, by that involvement they place themselves in the correct position that they can then participate in the process of deciding what the future of a liberated South Africa shall be. [end recording]

CPSU Delegation Returns From Guinea-Bissau

PM1112095989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by Yu.G. Samsonov, first secretary of Ulyanovsk Oblast CPSU Committee, returned to Moscow from Guinea-Bissau. The delegation also visited Cape Verde.

East Europe

GDR Contacts With FRG, Unification Calls Noted

PM1112192589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent B. Lapskiy report: "GDR: Questions Mounting Up"]

[Text] Berlin—At every step in Berlin there are signs of the fast-approaching Christmas, and the traditional fair ablaze with lights has opened near the Alexanderplatz, but it seems as though no one is giving any thought to the festivities. Everything is overshadowed by politics, and political themes are being discussed everywhere—from the TV screen to the tables in the beer halls.

The topic of discussion is the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Congress, which opened last Friday and has been adjourned until next Saturday. What are the party's chances of finding its feet? Will it be able to halt the depletion of its ranks (500,000 members have left the party in the past 2 months)? Will it find the strength to wage a political struggle and approach next May's general elections with confidence?

People are pondering the chances of the new SED chairman, 41-year-old Gregor Gysi, and his three deputies. Will they and the newly elected party board be able to unite the party's ranks?

Gregor Gysi gave an interview to a Berlin television correspondent. He was asked: What is the "third path" proclaimed at the congress which the GDR is supposed to take? Isn't this a question of reformism, of "capitalism with a human face"? The word "reformism" doesn't sound so terrible in a period of reforms, G. Gysi replied. The "third path" is necessary because the "first path," the Stalinist type of socialism, has been rejected, and the second, the path toward monopoly capitalism, is unacceptable because there are many problems that it cannot resolve, such as employment and social protection. The question concerns democratic socialism, that is, a system which, by utilizing the advantages of true democracy, will give people guarantees in the social and ecological spheres and make it possible to develop the economy efficiently.

Will the party be able to complete the process of self-renewal that it has begun? That was the next question. The majority of SED members, G. Gysi said, want that and are prepared to struggle for it. G. Gysi warned of the existing difficulties and dangers. It is necessary, in his words, to avoid anarchy and chaos, to prevent manifestations of violence, right-wing radicalism, lynch law, and vengeance and to ensure that the population is supplied with every necessity.

There is much talk nowadays about German unification. The rapprochement between the two German states is proceeding not by the day but by the hour. As of 1 January the border will effectively be completely open for citizens of the GDR, the FRG, and West Berlin. At the level of the government, the lands, and individual businessmen the FRG is promising to support the weakened GDR economy and help breathe fresh life into it. (Hans Modrow has announced the total of the hitherto concealed state debt. It is $20.6 billion!). Meanwhile, there is a stream of advice from the West on structural perestroyka and specifically the urgent recommendation to develop small and medium private enterprise. West German Economics Minister Haussmann flies to Berlin Thursday. Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg, is in Dresden now. He has met with Hans Modrow and other leaders. They discussed regional cooperation in the development of small and medium enterprises, the infrastructure, and construction as well as in the social sphere. On Saturday Hans Modrow met with B. Engholm, prime minister of Schleswig-Holstein, and discussed cooperation prospects between that land and the GDR's Schwerin Bezirk.

On the whole, the conversations and talks are proceeding in a favorable spirit, although on the key question the interlocutors hold different positions. The position of H. Modrow's government is well known: Yes to rapprochement, no to merger.

But at mass demonstrations there are frequent calls for a single homeland for all Germans. These calls meet with resolute answers from the ranks of those same demonstrators: The GDR must be preserved.

M.S. Gorbachev's statement on the GDR at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum has been received with satisfaction here. Local television cited it all yesterday evening. Today NEUES DEUTSCHLAND carries a front-page report on it headlined: "The Soviet Union will stick up for the GDR."

Meanwhile, the situation in the GDR remains far from stable. Demonstrations by many thousands of people are continuing in its cities.

E. Berlin Roundtable Views Reunification Issue

PM1112153989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by APN correspondent Yu. Shpakov under the general heading: "In Expectation of Changes"]

[Text] Berlin— One day before the start of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] congress, an APN correspondent reports to the editorial board, there was a roundtable meeting in the Berlin district of Weissensee, initiated by the leaders of the Evangelical and Catholic churches. The aim of the action, Dieter Gnade, representative of the Berlin Episcopal Conference Secretariat, said, was to give the new political groupings and organizations that have been formed of late a closer acquaintance with the existing parties. Representatives of the informal public movement New Forum—a kind of public debate platform for the republic, bringing together over 100,000 people—attended the roundtable as well as the parties. The main topic of debate in Weissensee was the way ahead for the development of socialism in the GDR in the foreseeable future and beyond, as seen by the roundtable participants, representing essentially the entire spectrum of political forces and currents in the republic.

Following a torrid debate, the representatives of 14 parties and groupings reached an agreement: They made a proposal to the GDR People's Assembly to the effect that new elections should be held on a democratic basis on 6 May next year. There was also a recommendation on the elaboration of a new republic constitution. At the end of its work the roundtable announced a 5-point program expressing the common view of the participants. A statement that was also adopted says, in part: "The roundtable participants met out of deep concern for the future of our country, which is in crisis, and its independence and future development."

It must be noted that from whatever angle they approached the future of socialism on German soil, the debate participants invariably touched on what I consider the main sore point of the German nation's past and present—the reunification issue. The majority, the vast majority of political movements in the GDR consider it premature to raise the question because it does not correspond to the tasks and demands of the day. At the same time, the idea of German unity, which is being fueled on the other side of the GDR's western border, is increasingly exercising the minds of politicians as well as ordinary people.

The 10 points proposed in the program for German reunification put forward by Helmut Kohl do not answer at least one far-from-idle question: What happens to the two Germanys' membership in opposing military alliances? Is the GDR going to propose its draft reply: Warsaw Pact as far as the Rhine? Or will one hear instead: NATO as far as the Oder and Neisse? But there is nothing really new in the latter: U.S. State Department head Baker has already said that a "reunited Germany must belong to NATO alone."

But genuinely forward-looking political forces in the GDR, including the vast majority of opposition forces, are trying to find ways of preserving the state independence of the GDR and the FRG, with their possible unification in a so-called "contractual community" [dogovornoye soobshchestvo]. This idea goes back to the mid-fifties, when it was put forward by the leadership of one of the former "bloc parties"—the National Democratic Party of Germany. Today, party chairman Guenter Hartmann said, the coexistence of two states on German soil as a confederation might not only ease military tension in this hitherto explosive part of Europe, but also channel the inevitable process of political, economic, and other rapprochement between the GDR and FRG in a sensible and, most importantly, realistic direction.

SED Seeks To Be 'Modern' Party Among Equals

PM1212101989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Dec 89 Single Edition p 5

[Report "for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA" from the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany by APN correspondent Yu. Shpakov under the general heading: "'We Are The People Too'"]

[Text] Berlin, 9 Dec—The party has probably never experienced before the kind of torrid debate that has been taking place at the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. But I would point out that the speakers in the "Dynamo" sports hall in Berlin were unanimous about one thing: When it comes to the renewal of the party there can be no room for old models.

It was the Stalin-style socialism, imposed on the people by the former leadership, that brought the country to political, economic, and ecological crisis and to corruption and abuse of power by a number of party leaders. Those who cherish the republic's future as an equal, flourishing, and independent state cannot but agree with this assessment by lawyer Gregor Gysi, who has been elected the new chairman of the SED.

In the midst of the highly-charged debate in the GDR over alternative models of the country's future, the extraordinary congress is proposing a path free both from the rule of a political bureaucracy and from the rule of capitalist magnates. The future development of socialism in the GDR must ultimately ensure the protection of the social interests of every member of society, such as individual freedom, the observance of basic human rights, and the provision of equal conditions for everyone to express himself and for the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of mankind. The party will treat these chief social values as fundamental when it elaborates a new program and its democratic statutes. In other words, in its overhauled form the SED will be a modern socialist party of working people, based on a real concept of socialist development.

There has been much argument and difference of opinion over a possible split in and even disbandment of the SED. The reasons for this are the sharp decline in its prestige of late, in view of the discovery of glaring instances of abuse by the former party leadership. But the vast majority of ordinary party members believe an overhauled and purged SED could be a worthy rival—as an equal among equals, of course—for other political parties and groupings putting forward alternative programs.

A recent sociological study by personnel of the Academy of Social Sciences among 1,379 participants in kreis party conferences, in SED primary organizations in Berlin, and six bezirke showed that 83.5 percent of ordinary party members deem it essential to preserve its unity.

At the same time, over 70 percent of communists consider that SED party organizations at work places should exist only as equal partners of other parties' primary organizations. Moreover, as the published results of the poll indicate, the majority considers it necessary to significantly improve the standard of party work in residential areas.

The vast majority of SED members favor a sharp demarcation of the functions of party and state. And nearly everyone—92.7 percent—favored direct party leadership elections at all levels, with several candidates to choose from.

Without a doubt, it is not only the destiny of the party, which has stood at the helm of the socialist state for four decades, that is being decided now. The solution of such fundamental questions for the country as development on the path of democratic socialism and elaboration of a realistic model for the coexistence of two German states will largely depend on the course taken by this, the biggest—in numbers at least—political force in GDR society.

GDR Editor Views SED Congress, Party's Future

PM1112123189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Brigitte Zimmerman, chief editor of the weekly WOCHENPOST, by correspondent V. Lapskiy in Berlin: "GDR: Extraordinary Circumstances"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] An extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] congress will begin its work in Berlin Friday afternoon. The days just before the congress have been richer in political events than ever before. Mass demonstrations continue unabated. A "roundtable" discussion held at the SED's suggestion was attended by 14 parties and groups and decided to recommend to the People's Chamber that free elections be scheduled for May 1990 and a new GDR Constitution be elaborated; outbursts of violence and the first casualties have been reported. The situation has reached the limits of tension. The congress is convening in these dramatic conditions to analyze the causes that produced the current crisis and to map a way out of it.

I met with Brigitte Zimmerman, member of the working commission engaged in preparations for the congress and chief editor of the weekly WOCHENPOST, prior to the opening of the congress. The weekly enjoys great popularity in the GDR, constantly carrying bold materials on topical issues. B. Zimmerman has headed the editorial office for 7 years now.

[Lapskiy] Frau Zimmerman, the congress was originally due to open 15 December. Why has it been brought forward?

[Zimmerman] The change of date was caused by the sharp exacerbation of the situation in the country and in the party itself; delays would have worked against us. We need to establish ourselves as a democratic political party, equal among equals, as soon as possible. We want to put an end once and for all to Stalinist structures, which objectively drove us into a blind alley.

[Lapskiy] How do you appraise the situation?

[Zimmerman] The situation is critical. There are several reasons why. In essence, the political system hitherto existing in the GDR has failed and we are seeking the model of a new system. It is self-evident that such a quest produces intellectual ferment. The economy is in no better state; it is tottering. People are indignant about the numerous cases of corruption and abuse of power in the higher echelons of leadership and demand—at times quite emotionally—that the culprits be punished. All this creates instability in the country. But I am an optimist.

[Lapskiy] The party is also living through a profound crisis, one of its symptoms being the fact that 200,000 people have handed back their party membership cards in the last few months. What would you say in this context?

[Zimmerman] Naturally the party reflects the situation in our society. Until recently it claimed it led society, but in actual fact it commanded society. Times have changed. The present dramatic situation was partly caused also by a crisis within the party itself. This is why we are in a hurry with the extraordinary congress so as to create a qualitatively new party on a new basis.

[Lapskiy] What do you expect from the congress, what main decisions?

[Zimmerman] I would not like to guess, but I am convinced: Exceptionally important revolutionary decisions will be made. First and foremost, we need to elect an effective [deyesposobnoye] leadership. Our working commission was created for the purpose of preparing the congress and will surrender its powers at the congress. The party leadership, jointly with the other interested political forces, must lead the country out of the crisis.

[Lapskiy] As the congress date approached, voices were heard increasingly often talking about a possible split within the party. It was said that back in the past it was created through the amalgamation of two parties, the communist and the social democratic parties, and maybe the time has come for them to go their separate ways?

[Zimmerman] We have done everything to avoid a split. I would like to say that the mass of rank-and-file party members have no wish to see this happen. They are in favor of elaborating a new political orientation and platform which would generate trust and support among the party masses. Those who wish to go their separate way should ultimately realize that they carry no political weight in society.

[Lapskiy] The working commission's material emphasizes that the SED must become "a modern socialist party." What does this mean?

[Zimmerman] For us, the creation of a modern socialist party primarily means a turnabout in the direction of democratic structures, from primary party organizations to leadership organs, a path toward democratic socialism. No more edict methods of leadership! The party must revert to strictly political activity without interfering in the business of other parties, public organizations, and organs of power. The SED must participate, on an equal footing with the other parties, in the political struggle for power—and I see nothing reprehensible in this—on the basis of the holding of free elections. We are in favor of a socialist alternative conditioned by free elections.

[Lapskiy] Just before the congress, newspapers expressed the opinion that it is necessary to rename the SED.

[Zimmerman] The congress will decide this issue. We members of the working commission made no proposals on this account. I personally believe that it is not a question of the party's name but of its genuine political reorientation. Let us wait and see.

[Lapskiy] In the course of preparations for the congress some voices could be heard saying that the Central Committee should not create a Politburo; why have "a head above the head," as NEUES DEUTSCHLAND wrote?

[Zimmerman] The working commission submitted a proposal on the Politburo question; admittedly it was formulated somewhat differently from your question, but let us wait for the congress to open.

CPCZ Chief Urbanek's Brno Speech Reported

*PM1212111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Before Czechoslovak Communist Party Forum"]

[Text] Prague, 11 Dec—The conferences of Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] organizations have ended in Czechoslovakia. They elected delegates to the extraordinary party congress, which will open 20 December.

The conference in Brno was addressed by K. Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. In particular, he stressed that the present crisis in Czechoslovakia is not a crisis of socialism. It is the crisis of a deformed administrative-bureaucratic system which has become a delaying factor in social development and must therefore be eliminated, the speaker stressed. The extraordinary party conferences have shown that the party is alive and advocates democratic socialism and a political system based on parliamentary democracy and broad self management. The Communists support the concept of the economy's transfer to a market basis. The CPCZ has every opportunity for retaining a notable place in society as a modern party of leftwing orientation which will defend the interests of the working class, intelligentsia, young people, and all working people. But this is possible only if it succeeds in overcoming the resistance of those who do not want or are unable to understand the need for changes. We will resolutely part company with those who have discredited the party and abused their position. The party will put an end to the abnormal situation whereby the rights of Communists and internal party debate have been suppressed to the advantage of a distorted understanding of democratic centralism. That is why the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has decided to cancel the draft of the new party statute and prepare a new variation of this document for the extraordinary congress.

Various speculative rumors about how the party is allegedly preparing military intervention in the course of events are unfounded. At the same time, we shall resolutely oppose attempts to generate anticommunist hysteria in society, attacks on honest workers merely because they are CPCZ members, and extremist ultimatums and threats pushing the country onto the path of confrontation. That could harm not only Czechoslovakia but also the all-European process.

We cannot close our eyes to the trends casting doubt on territorial and political realities in Europe. That applies particularly to calls for the reunification of Germany, which would lead to fundamental changes in the balance of forces in Europe. That is why the CPCZ again states that the alliance with the USSR is the main and constant guarantee of the existence of the Czechoslovak state, K. Urbanek stressed.

CPSU-PZPR Consultations on Economic Reform

*PM1112134989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A group of worker members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee was in the Soviet Union 4 through 9 December under the plan for ties between the CPSU and the PZPR to familiarize itself with experience of the CPSU's activity in the production sphere under the conditions of the economic reform.

The Polish comrades had talks at the Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, the Socioeconomic Department, and Penza CPSU Oblast Committee, and visited a number of industrial enterprises in Moscow and Penza Oblast.

CPSU Greets Bulgarian Agrarian Union Head

*PM1112114189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1*

[CPSU Central Committee congratulations to Angel Dimitrov of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union]

[Text] To Comrade Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union

Esteemed Comrade Dimitrov,

We cordially congratulate you on your election to the high post of secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. We express confidence that the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union will continue to serve as a positive factor in the country's political life and the renewal of socialism and contribute its share to the strengthening of friendship and all-around cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

West Europe

FRG's Genscher Cited on 'German Question'

PM1212120189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Acting in Spirit of Helsinki"]

[Text] Bonn, 11 Dec—The Soviet Union's policy and the new thinking have opened the way to historic changes in the East European countries, FRG Foreign Minister H.D. Genscher has stated. Speaking in Saarbruecken at a ceremony during which he was presented with the Richard Becker medal, he noted that an atmosphere of stability on the continent is necessary for the successful completion of this process.

Neither now nor in the future, the minister pointed out, will West Germany in any way exploit the difficulties of the transitional period in the socialist countries to achieve one-sided advantages. We know that the processes taking place in Eastern Europe cannot be viewed separately; they are interconnected. Special importance in this connection attaches to a stable situation in the GDR. The solution of the "German question," H.D. Genscher noted, cannot be a matter for the Germans alone. In this complex period the citizens of both the FRG and the GDR have special responsibility for maintaining stability on the continent.

The Helsinki agreements are a good basis for developing a changing but at the same time stable Europe. They can serve as a reliable compass showing ways for further advance. In this connection, special importance attaches to the proposal of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on convening Helsinki II in 1990. The holding of an all-European meeting at the summit level will open up new prospects and lend dynamism to the all-European process, so we support this proposal.

GDR Congress Seen Answering FRG Concerns

LD1112195189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The latest events in the GDR—the extraordinary congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the election of a new party leadership—have attracted very close attention in the FRG. The View from Bonn is the title Aleksandr Pozharskiy has given his dispatch. Listen to what he has to say.

[Pozharskiy] A great many assumptions were voiced in FRG political circles in regard to the SED congress. All these deliberations and forecasts were, in the main, on one level: whether the SED would remain as a party, and whether it would maintain its orientations. In this respect, particular attention was devoted to the extraordinary SED Congress. In an interview to the ARD program literally 2 hours after his election, the new SED chairman, Gregor Gysi, answered many questions worrying both the West German mass media and political circles.

[Begin Gysi recording in German with superimposed Russian translation by Pozharskiy] I advocate first and foremost the renewal of the party in the direction of democracy, law and order, and socialism. We do not yet have a detailed and profound program: The SED working commission could not, of course, draw up such a program in a few days. However, we do have a guideline document, and this contains essential elements of a program. [end recording]

One of the main questions to which particular significance is attributed here in the FRG is whether the SED will remain a communist party. Answering this, Gysi said the SED would arm itself with various traditions, including communist traditions, especially where communist ideals are concerned. Our goal remains a classless society, the SED chairman stressed. However, the party will rely on social democratic, socialist, and pacifist traditions. The multifaceted nature of this must be the party's strength.

In my view, the SED chairman answered the main questions worrying political circles in the FRG. These answers did not, perhaps, coincide with some of the predictions and some of the expectations. But this is further evidence that expectations should be realistic.

Soviet Military Delegation Arrives in Hamburg

LD1112234689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn, 11 Dec (TASS)—A delegation from the military academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces headed by Lieutenant General G.S. Starodubov arrived in Hamburg today at the invitation of the FRG Ministry of Defense.

The Soviet generals and officers are to visit the command and staff academy of the Bundeswehr, which is situated in this major FRG port town. They will meet with its students and lecturers and acquaint themselves with the instruction process. During the conversations and discussions they will talk about the defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine and the process that has started of reducing the USSR's Armed Forces and armaments.

The visit by the Soviet military delegation is taking place within the framework of the program of military-political and military contacts between the Armed Forces of the USSR and the FRG, signed during the visit to the Soviet Union last May by Admiral Dieter Wellershoff, inspector-general of the Bundeswehr. Over that short period there has already been a visit by warships of the FRG Navy to Leningrad and a number of other mutual exchanges. The trip around the FRG by a group of servicemen from the Moscow military district, organized on the initiative of the influential West German newspaper DIE WELT, has gained a positive response here. A group of officers from the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces recently acquainted itself with the activity of the union of servicemen of the Bundeswehr.

The visit by the Soviet military delegation arouses considerable interest among the public in the FRG. Here it is being noted that it is the first official contact between representatives of the leading military educational establishments in the two countries.

Thinking Behind Cuts in FRG's Bundeswehr Viewed

PM1112151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Yevgeniy Grigoryev dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Fewer Men in Bundeswehr"]

[Text] Bonn, 9 Dec—After long hesitation and discussion, the federal Cabinet has decided on a "new framework" for Bundeswehr numbers in peacetime. The Bundeswehr's current level is 495,000 servicemen. It is planned to reduce this to 420,000 by 1990. Moreover, depending on the development of East-West relations and the results of the Vienna talks, the question of reducing the size of the Bundeswehr to 400,000 men could even be examined. This was announced in the Bundestag the other day by FRG Defense Minister G. Stoltenberg.

Military specialists will probably find room for clarification and questions in this Bonn arithmetic. Thus, even with the planned reduction the actual "manpower" of the FRG Armed Forces will be equal to 470,000, since there will be standing units made up of 10,000 reservists, while 40,000 men will be in a state of so-called "special readiness." However, politically the line of cutting Bundeswehr numbers undoubtedly accords with the spirit of the times and the strengthening trends in European development.

In this connection it may seem strange that Bonn prefers to substantiate its decision primarily through the "pressure of financial circumstances" and a projected reduction in the potential of draft ages owing to the falloff in the birthrate that took place during the seventies. Clearly, the point is that if the lack of any military threat to the FRG or the West in general is recognized, the question immediately arises of the bankruptcy of the strategy of deterrence and forward defense. There will then be no avoiding the demand made by the public and some political circles to unambiguously reject the plans to modernize NATO's tactical and nuclear weapons. Ruling circles and military circles here want to avoid all this. But, nonetheless, indirectly they are not averse to linking the new Bundeswehr structure with European development, stating that this flexibility will make it possible to adapt the Bundeswehr to the framework of the processes of detente, disarmament, and political change on the continent.

On the domestic front this decision is a coalition compromise. The Free Democrats immediately demanded that a level of 400,000 be set without provisos or interim levels. But they had to accept a linkage to the results of the Vienna talks and the general political development in Europe. Yet circles within the party are prepared to look further ahead. J. Moellemann, the minister of education and science, who is well known for his close ties to Foreign Minister H.D. Genscher, has proposed cutting the Bundeswehr to 350,000 servicemen. As for the Social Democratic opposition, it considers it entirely justifiable to be looking toward even a 250,000-man contingent by the end of the nineties. Thus, despite the government decision, the subject will remain topical in discussions here. Many members, not only of opposition circles but of the public, are convinced that the FRG could for its part respond more boldly and effectively to the major unilateral armed forces cuts in the Warsaw Pact countries, and that this would promote progress at the Vienna talks.

As is well known, the Bundeswehr is the largest army in NATO. Its size of almost 500,000 has been considered an indispensable condition for defense capability here. Clearly, times and ideas are now changing. This is yet another positive point.

FRG Attitudes Toward USSR, Perestroyka Viewed

PM1212094989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "Asset of Perestroyka. FRG Attitude Toward the Soviet Union"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] M.S. Gorbachev's June visit to the FRG visibly helped strengthen good sentiments. Trust in and the popularity of the Soviet leader are at a high level here. That is very important because they are in turn transformed into sympathy toward and trust in Soviet people, our people, and our country.

Almost everything happening in the Soviet Union invariably attracts attention. The work of the Supreme Soviet, foreign policy actions, crisis phenomena, strikes, ethnic conflicts, the creation of joint enterprises, and many other things are the subject of discussion and public debate. These themes are given extensive coverage in the West German mass media. Of course, some of them cannot resist the temptation to exploit certain difficulties in the USSR and other socialist countries, so to speak, to meet their own needs. Ultraconservative circles have made up their minds to revive anticommunism. The essence of their stance is as follows: The more difficulties perestroyka has, the better. Newspapers close to these circles like Springer's DIE WELT are proclaiming the "disintegration" of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Like many prominent Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union politicians, they are lavish with their epitaphs for socialism, while some people are clearly disappointed that socialist society is being renewed rather than capitalism regenerated in our country.

On the other hand, the theme of the "unpredictability" of the development of perestroyka in the USSR and other socialist countries encountered in many commentaries and speeches is used as an argument for the continuation of NATO military programs. But propaganda regarding the "probable failure of the reforms" is above all designed not only to put a damper on trust in and sympathy toward our country, but also to undermine the convictions held by broad strata of the FRG population that perestroyka's transformations and the USSR's foreign policy do accord with the fundamental interests of peace and security.

In literally any discussion West German interlocutors ask about the progress and future of perestroyka. Many questions in Neuburg, Goettingen, Hamburg, and other places that I visited recently boiled down to this. But here is what is remarkable: The concern is constructive at heart. Now among workers, politicians, journalists, businessmen, and representatives of various professions and social strata, you generally encounter human concern and outright interest in ensuring that perestroyka does not fail rather than merely cool curiosity.

Public sentiments in favor of comprehensively building up cooperation with the Soviet Union are still strong in the FRG and are being realized through many common actions. For instance, an academy tackling management questions has been formed in Celle with assistance from the Government of Lower Saxony and funding from a number of foundations and concerns, including Volkswagen. There will be a considerable number of Soviet "students" there from among enterprise leaders. The city authorities in Cologne are preparing to set up a joint enterprise with Leningraders which will work on water-purifying installations in the city on the Neva. The people of Cologne are well-versed in these matters. There are a considerable number of such examples.

Many people here realize the importance of the perestroyka process in our country for the entire international community. They follow the work of our legislative bodies with great interest. "Deputies," FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU writes, "have become a real political force." Commentators note that the current legislative work in Moscow will help create the foundations of a rule-of-law state.

Of course, Bonn's approaches are not totally simple. Recurrences of the old illusions and love of rhetoric are noticeable. However, you get the impression that responsible political circles in Bonn are trying to retain a realistic and unbiased view of the perestroyka processes in our country. You also hear people saying that any destabilization in the Soviet Union or in other socialist countries could only have adverse consequences for all international development, particularly in Europe, and is therefore totally undesirable, especially since FRG-Soviet relations have now been placed on a new footing and a program has been elaborated for cooperation in all spheres. Stability and calm conditions are needed here for joint work.

What do economic circles think? People there realize—a well known financier shared his thoughts—that economic reform requires great effort and time to run in parts of the new mechanism. I will not hide the fact, he continued, that the hard events of the last year, crisis phenomena, and the instability of the Soviet economy have not had the best effect on businessmen's sentiments and restrain some people from taking part in possible joint projects. But nonetheless, the realization that perestroyka really promises new opportunities for mutually advantageous economic cooperation prevails.

Political circles also point out the highly important significance of the economic sphere of relations. Mutually beneficial activity now encompasses many spheres of practical cooperation. A special banking group from our economic mission in the FRG met recently in Frankfurt-am-Main. Strictly practical questions linked with financing the activity of joint enterprises, which are increasing in number, were discussed. W. Roeller, chairman of the Federal Association of German Banks and head of the very prominent Dresden Bank, said that the prospects opening up in the course of political reform in the USSR "require new effective initiatives from our side."

I do not intend to paint rosy-hued pictures. Forces which would like to wipe out both socialism and the modern political map of Europe have by no means lost their influence in the FRG. At the same time, while taking a realistic view of our historic choice, the overwhelming majority of the West German population by no means supports it. However, more and more people here realize that you will not make much headway on the basis of ideological differences, and basing interstate relations on confrontation is not the way to a peaceful Europe. It is not for nothing that the idea of a common European home is becoming increasingly popular here.

The following fact is obvious: Notwithstanding the acute rivalry between the main FRG political forces, something like consensus has been established regarding the desirability of political dialogue and practical cooperation with the USSR. People's broad sympathies for perestroyka and our country and their desire for cooperation and contacts with the Soviet people are indisputable. Undoubtedly, such sentiments are our main asset in the FRG.

WEU Discusses Military, East-West Issues

PM1112164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Session Ended"]

[Text] Paris, 8 Dec—The 35th Assembly Session of the Western European Union [WEU]—a military-political organization to which nine countries belong—has ended in the French capital by adopting a resolution on a report on the correlation of the strengths of the NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces.

The parliamentarians also discussed and approved a number of reports devoted to the prospects for developing East-West relations, to problems of disarmament and arms control, to the state of affairs in the WEU, and to ways to strengthen military-political cooperation among the member states.

The session adopted a special directive welcoming the progress made at the Soviet-U.S top-level meeting off the coast of Malta on the way to concluding treaties on the reduction of the offensive strategic nuclear arsenals of the USSR and the United States, conventional armed forces and arms in Europe, and chemical weapons. The directive stipulates that an extraordinary WEU Assembly session will be held in the first quarter of next year to examine one single question—the establishment of peace and security in Europe.

A report on the activity of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom] was discussed. The draft recommendations to the WEU Council, which the parliamentarians approved, point to the need to revise the Cocom lists with a view to expanding trade as much as possible. At the conference on economic cooperation in Europe, which will be held in Bonn next spring, it is proposed to conduct a special discussion of the prospects for an East-West exchange of modern technologies and the role of Cocom.

The session participants advocated the maintenance of stability in Europe and the expansion of East-West cooperation in all spheres.

Supreme Soviet, Nordic Council View Cooperation

LD0612031589 Moscow TASS in English 2309 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—Changes in the Soviet Union are opening up new oportunities for the development of all-embracing relations between parliamentarians of the USSR and the European Nordic countries. We have arrived in the Soviet Union to study this potential and help realise it.

This was stated by Gerhard af Schulten of Finland [name as received], who is secretary of the Presidium of the Nordic Council. He is leading a group of representatives of this region advisory organisation on a visit to Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat.

The Nordic parliamentarians described talks with their Soviet opposite numbers as very useful and fruitful. Taking part in the discussion were acting chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs Aleksandr Dzasokhov and Secretary of the Committee Nikolay Neuland.

The 90-minute discussion centered around cooperation in the fields of culture, science, education, tourism, environmental protection and a range of other subjects.

The sides considered ways to promote interparliamentary relations, adjust direct dialogue and exchange of experience between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Nordic Council.

A specially great potential lies in the development of contacts along the line of adjacent territories. As a result of perestroyka, the local authorities in the Soviet Union have been granted greater independence. The Soviet Baltic republics and the Russian Federation's northwestern regions can now open a new page in relations with the countries of Northern Europe.

"Why not discuss exchanges of students and university teachers?" Aleksandr Dzasokhov queried. "The potential is also great for cooperation in training managers and promoting tourism in adjacent areas."

Gerhard af Schulten and his colleagues repeatedly stressed the significance of the initiatives proposed by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev during his recent visit to Finland.

The Soviet leader favoured better contacts with the Nordic Council and suggested that Council members meet representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet and then the Supreme Soviets of the republics situated in the northern part of the Soviet Union.

This initiative was supported by the Presidium of the Nordic Council.

Our present visit is the first step towards the meeting between delegations from the Nordic Council and the USSR Supreme Soviet. We view our visit, said Gerhard af Schulten, as an important contribution to deepening contacts with the supreme body of state authority of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Soviet-Swiss Talks on Chemical Arms Ban Reported

LD0712225489 Moscow TASS in English 2242 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Bern December 8 TASS—Soviet-Swiss consultations on matters relating to the ban on chemical weapons were held in Bern on Thursday. During the consultations the sides made clear their assessments of the state of affairs at the negotiations on the preparation of an international convention on the complete elimination of all chemical weapons.

The sides noted that their views on a wide range of negotiated problems coincided and stressed their mutual interest in the expeditious conclusion of the convention.

The Soviet side informed its opposite numbers of the results of talks on the issue between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush during their Malta meeting.

The Soviet delegation led by Sergey Botsanov, who represents the Soviet Union at the disarmament conference, met Klaus Jacobi, head of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. Soviet Ambassador to Switzerland Zoya Novozhilova took part in the conversation.

Nishanov Receives Turkish Parliamentarians

LD0812141389 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Chairman of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet Rafiq Nishanov met today a delegation of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Turkish Parliament, led by its chairman A. Tutkun.

It was stressed that the Soviet Union and Turkey have good reasons to extend the traditional relations of friendship and multilateral cooperation. The policy of renewal and democratisation of Soviet society, which enables the removal of barriers of mistrust and the development of goodneighbourly relations, serves as a dependable guarantee.

The sides expressed interest in the further development of bilateral contacts in the field of trade, tourism and joint venture projects. It was stressed that these contacts will benefit from extended parliamentary links.

The meeting was also attended by Turkish Ambassador to the Soviet Union Volkan Vural.

Soviet-Turkish Border Control Commission Meets

LD0812120689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0817 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow 8 Dec (TASS)—A routine session of the joint Soviet-Turkish Control Commission took place in Moscow between 29 November and 8 December. In an atmosphere of mutual desire for constructive cooperation, the results of checks done on the route of the Soviet-Turkish state frontier along rivers and streams were summed up. Recommendations have been agreed upon on measures to avert or correct the changes that have occured in the riverbeds. A final protocol on the results of the work done by the commission was signed on 6 December.

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro Speech Honors Cuban Internationalists

'Crisis' in Socialist Camp Noted

PM1112144389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Speech by F. Castro"]

[Text] Havana, 9 Dec—The remains of Cuban internationalists who died carrying out their duty abroad have been interred at a ceremony near Havana. Fidel Castro spoke at the funeral rally.

In carrying out its international missions, F. Castro stated, Cuba has never sought glory or military prestige. When end results could be achieved through politics and diplomacy, we have used that route without a moment's hesitation. Recalling that Cubans have carried out their international duty not only in Angola but in other African countries as well, Castro stressed: "A continent that has been exploited and plundered for centuries has been able to fully assess the selflessness of our internationalism."

The Cuban leader dwelt on the processes taking place in the European socialist countries. He stated that the "crisis that has emerged in the socialist camp, a crisis from which we can expect only negative consequences in the economic sphere, must now be added" to the imperialist blockade of Cuba.

The processes of improving socialism which are taking place in Cuba, Castro stressed, "cannot be implemented by slandering socialism, destroying its values, or stripping the party of its authority..." The Cuban people, he noted, owe everything they have to the revolution and socialism, and will defend them to their last drop of blood.

Negative Consequences for Economy Seen

PM1112152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Kamorin dispatch: "Cuba: Speech by Fidel Castro"]

[Text] Havana—A day of national mourning was held in Cuba to honor the memory of 2,289 Cubans who died while performing their military and civic international mission on the African Continent.

A national mourning rally was held in the Havana suburb of Kakaual [name as transliterated]. It was addressed by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, who arrived for the occasion, and Fidel Castro Ruz.

Departing from his usual practice of delivering an improvised address to his audience, the Cuban leader read out a speech in which, having honored the memory of Cuban internationalist heroes, he touched upon some problems of the contemporary world.

Speaking about the complex and contradictory processes occurring in the socialist countries, the Cuban leader said in particular: "On their return home, the internationalist fighters find the motherland engaged in a titanic struggle for development, continuing to resist the criminal blockade by imperialism. Added to this today is the crisis which has flared out in the socialist camp, from which we can expect only negative economic consequences for our country."

Statistics on Internationalist Missions

LD1112202189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Ye. Fateyev video report from Cuba]

[Text] The Cuban leadership has decided to transfer home the remains of their fellow citizens who died while carrying out internationalist missions and were buried far from their native shores:

[Fateyev] In connection with this, the numbers of those who died outside Cuban borders were for the first time made public here. There were 2,289 of them. Official accounts published in Cuban papers during these days of mourning note that all-in-all there were more than 400,000 men carrying out the internationalist mission outside Cuban borders. And right now throughout the country in every municipality the last honors are being paid to the noble memory of each and every one of the internationalist patriots. [video shows funeral ceremonies]

A mourning rally that took place by the grave of Cuba's national hero General Antonio Maceo was attended by Angola's President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. A programmatic speech was delivered by Fidel Castro. For the first time in public he criticized many of the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union and a number of other European socialist states. Now the majority of the socialist countries, emphasized the Cuban leader, are not speaking about the anti-imperialist struggle and the principles of internationalism. These words are not mentioned in their press. Presumably these conceptions have been deleted from political vocabulary there.

Today imperialism, Fidel Castro went on, is inviting the socialist states of Europe to transform themselves into recipients of its capital surpluses, to develop capitalism and participate in the plunder of the Third World countries. The Cuban Communists and millions of heroic revolutionaries who are part of our people, the Cuban leader continued, will know how to fulfill the role destined by history, not just as the first socialist state in the Western hemisphere, but also as the vanguard in the struggle for the defense of the just cause of all those who are oppressed and exploited on our planet. And if history assigns us the role of (?sometime) remaining among the last defenders of socialism in the world, we shall defend this stronghold to the last drop of our blood. [video shows Dos Santos, Castro at lectern]

Reportage on Central American Presidents Meeting

U.S. 'Adding Fuel' to Conflict

PM1212102789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Cherepanov dispatch: "Central America: Another Attempt"]

[Text] Mexico City—An extraordinary meeting of the five Central American presidents, brought about by the sharp deterioration in the situation in the region, opened Sunday [10 December] in the Costa Rican capital.

The peace process seemed to be making headway, albeit slowly, until quite recently. An early presidential election was drawing near in Nicaragua, strictly in line with the latest accords between the Central American leaders. Talks had begun in El Salvador between the insurgents and the government. A little later the Sandinistas had also sat down at one table with the contras. Pessimism in the Latin American press had considerably decreased. To use a diplomatic expression, a feeling of cautious optimism prevailed.

Even when the dialogue was broken off in El Salvador, and later between the Sandinistas and the contras, it still seemed that not everything had been lost. It was only when the "fight for the Salvadoran capital" began between the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Army, which resorted to massive bombardments of the poor quarters in response to the patriots' offensive and mounted a real hunt for the progressive leaders, that it became clear that a drastic reversal had set in after a boom in the settlement process.

A summit meeting in Nicaragua (2-3 December) had already been prepared when the right-wing Salvadoran Government announced that it had broken off diplomatic and trade relations with that country, and President Cristiani refused to go to Managua. A plane crash in the Salvadoran jungle involving a small Cessna aircraft was the pretext for this unprecedented step. The Salvadoran military claimed that a weapons shipment from the Sandinistas to the FMLN was on board.

Former Sandinista Eden Pastora said recently: Managua has not supplied the FMLN with weapons for several years now; the partisans buy them from the contras. Former Salvadoran President Napoleon Duarte said in an interview with Guatemala's LA HORA that the incumbent Salvadoran Government's charges against Nicaragua of weapons shipments are no more than "a maneuver designed to deadlock implementation of the regional peace accords."

The U.S. Government is adding fuel to the fire instead of defusing the situation in Central America. On the eve of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush off Malta, successive charges of failing to keep its pledges with regard to this regional conflict were leveled at Moscow. Following the summit meeting, where the sides failed to reach a united viewpoint on this question, the attacks are continuing.

Not everyone has lost his head in this situation of increasing tension in the region. The Costa Rican and Guatemalan presidents have submitted an initiative to hold an extraordinary meeting of the Central American leaders to discuss the current situation in El Salvador and the problem of the demobilization of the contras. After prolonged thought even the Salvadoran president decided not to refuse to take part in the talks. Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega is bringing to San Jose a proposal to extend to 31 December the deadline (which expired 5 December) for the demobilization and repatriation of the contras. Via Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez the Salvadoran partisans told the Central American leaders that they are prepared to conclude a truce with the ruling regime with the participation of international observers.

The UN and OAS secretaries general, Latin American countries, and Common Market states have urged the Central American presidents to treat the impending meeting with total responsibility and attempt to elaborate a common solution for the sake of peace in this troubled region.

Failure To Dissolve Contras Viewed

PY0812222489 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Vyacheslav Rostovesev commentary]

[Text] An ordinary meeting of the presidents of the five Central American countries will the begin on 10 December in Costa Rica. Prior to that, there will be a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of those countries. It can be seen that the search for a peaceful solution to regional conflicts will continue. Let us listen what our commentator Vyacheslav Rostovsev thinks in this regard.

I believe that nobody doubts that the leaders of the Central American countries are interested in ending the dangerous situation in the area. Nevertheless, there are some circumstances that call for reservations. To what do I refer? In the first place, I am referring to the fact that the fundamental point in the agreement signed by the five presidents on 7 August in Tela, Honduras, has not been resolved. This point has to do with the dissolving of the contras prior to 5 December; and that has not been implemented.

A White House spokesman declared yesterday that the contras were not dissolved by 5 December because the Sandinist Government had not complied with the terms of the Tela Agreement. That argument is not very convincing from any standpoint. The internal situation in Nicaragua is fully in line with the recommendations of the agreement signed in August by the Central American presidents. The fact that the contras and their U.S. protectors did not want to comply with their part of the agreement explains the real reason that the counterrevolutionary military forces have not been dissolved.

Maintaining those forces is necessary in order to constantly pressure the Sandinists. It has been reported that the contra detachments stationed in Nicaraguan territory are intimidating the voters so that they will not vote for the Sandinists in the upcoming elections. The contra leaders and their U.S. protectors affirm that contra military detachments must be maintained until election day in Nicaragua.

What will happen, then, if the majority of Nicaraguans vote for the Sandinists? Will freedom of choice be respected by the contras, or will they continue their armed struggle? I ask these questions because the long maneuvering to maintain the contra detachments raises suspicions.

CPSU Central Committee Plenum

Central Committee Address to Soviet People

LD1112203589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article entitled: "CPSU Central Committee Address to the Soviet People Adopted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum 9 December 1989"]

[Text] Comrades! The country is on the threshold of elections to republican and local events. Holding them marks a new stage of political reform, as a result of which the soviets will take on a new quality, and an integral system of people's power will be created. One of the aims of the perestroyka the party started in April 1985 will be realized.

Soviet society is approaching the elections with serious gains already achieved; not only in the theory, but now also in the practice of perestroyka.

There has been a change in society; there is a change in man, to whom perestroyka is giving back his civic dignity and feeling of his own worth. People are gaining faith in themselves. The time of "cogs" has passed never to return, and the time of individuals has arrived. Conditions are being created for the free competition of minds and talents, wide scope has opened for creativity. The face of socialism is becoming more human and more varied.

The first stage of reform and the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and of the USSR Supreme Soviet have created a different political atmosphere in the country. It is one of openness, debate, and ardent interest by citizens in state affairs. The great number of alternatives put forward for working out solutions, and their social and scientific expertise and monitoring ensure the best possible approach to current problems.

The human scale is being asserted in the economy, in the spiritual sphere, and in our domestic and foreign policy.

The plan and budget for 1990 decisively transfer the center of gravity in economic policy to the needs of people. Social thought is revived, backward dogmas are cracking under its pressure. Science, culture, and education are coming out of stagnation. Glasnost and freedom of the press are acquiring a new quality. Generally, thanks to perestroyka not only are we seeing the world around us with different eyes, but the world is also looking at us differently —with greater trust and understanding.

The CPSU Central Committee is not simplifying the situation. It is a dramatic one. The old is being broken up, the new is painfully taking root. The shortages and the imbalance of the market are weighing us down. Strikes and interethnic conflicts are making society feverish. The height of tension has been reached in perestroyka. If we endure it, we will overcome it. If we do not, we will roll back down again.

At this difficult time for the country the CPSU Central Committee states in all responsibility: No one in the leadership of the party and the state is closing their eyes to the situation. It fully understands both the seriousness of the situation, and the necessary steps and measures that make it possible to break unfavorable tendencies. The party, in approaching its routine congress, sees its main task today as that of getting the country out of the current difficult sitution as soon as possible. This is the strong point of the CPSU's pre-election program. The party is addressing each voter, each patriot: Support the party in this, assist specifically and with all the means at your disposal in attaining the nationwide goal set.

Comrades! In the course of restructuring, reform of the political system is being implemented step by step; the foundations of a law-governed socialist state are being laid. The package of laws, many of which are of an innovatory nature, and raise socialist democracy to a new level, is continuing to be augmented.

To overcome the years of increasing alienation of man from authority—that is the sense of the political reform. Today it is arriving at one of the crucial stages: Following the creation of new political mechanisms at the top storeys of state power, the political mechanism will be reconstructed at republican and local levels. The acquisition of independence and legal competence by the lower levels is the way toward an immense acceleration of perestroyka, and toward its lateral and deep proliferation.

Bodies of power that are not only new in composition but also new in their essence, tasks, and style of work are to be elected at the elections. Receiving the necessary rights and financial and material resources, soviets at all levels and local government bodies will also acquire complete responsibility for the economic and social development of their regions. Under the new conditions no one will be able to sit on the fence any longer, or to shift either his authority or his obligations to the voters onto the shoulders of others.

Perestroyka within the party itself is taking place within the general context of political reform. Freeing itself of administrative and economic-management functions that do not pertain to it, the CPSU is concentrating its efforts on deepening the policy of perestroyka and on campaigning for this policy not only to be accepted by the people, but also to be actively supported and unwaveringly put into practice.

The party's renewal and society's renewal are mutually conditioned factors. In the process of cleansing itself, the CPSU is reviving its ideological and moral qualities. The claim to have a monopoly on truth and the refusal to accept compromise or dissent have been made things of the past. The party is open to dialogue and partnership, and to constructive cooperation with all social movements, associations, and groups operating on a socialist basis.

At the same time, accepting as proper society's growing demandingness toward the party, and learning lessons from just criticism, the party resolutely rejects attempts to defame it, to drive a wedge between it and the people. It will do everything in order, on the basis of revolutionary changes, to ensure social stability in the country, to harmonize interests, to deal a resolute rebuff to manifestations of right and left extremism, nationalism and chauvinism, to preserve the integrity of the Soviet socialist state.

We appeal to communists, candidate people's deputies. You have something to report back to the people about and something to propose along the lines of positive changes—the acquired experience of perestroyka and the pre-election platform of the CPSU provide the necessary foundations for that. The party has proved it is moved not by selfish or short-term political calculation but by concern for the interests of the people, that it is capable of responding to the challenge of modern times, to the burning demands of society. From these political positions any discussion can and must be embarked on and dialogue with the electors boldly and openly conducted.

Comrades! The main question—whether there is to be a renewed socialism or not—is being decided primarily in the socioeconomic sphere.

Here we are entering a time of thorough changes; we have come right up to what is most important in economic reform—the transformation of the forms of socialist property. On the basis of the laws on property, on land, on leasing and others, the labor collective will become the genuine master of the factory, the mine, the farm. It will realize its role and its responsibility for the country, in a new way. Our intelligentsia will gain the right to intellectual property, which will radically change the position of the creators of new technology, of new ideas.

The party is devoted to the policy of radical social reorientation of the economy, of the maximum concentration of guidance of the social sphere in the republican bodies and local soviets.

The CPSU's social policy is directed toward the needs of all the generations and the working people of all the regions and industries of the national economy. Almost 87 percent of the national income will be allocated to current consumption and the development of the social sphere in 1990.

The party is persistently striving for the normalization of the consumer market, the amelioration of the finances and monetary circulation and the improvement of the material situation of families with children, of students and pupils.

Incomes of working peoples, pensioners and the low-paid strata of the population should be protected from inflation. In the election year, pensions, allowances, and benefits will be increased for more than 25 million of the least advantaged people. At the party's initiative, social justice is being restored and unmerited privileges are being removed. Large-scale measures for developing public education, health care, and man's ecological protection have been mapped out and are being implemented.

The party favors developing individual and cooperative activity truly based on labor. Yet we will struggle resolutely against the shadow economy, speculation and with those who parasitize on difficulties. The party is for social justice but it is against social freeloading. A unified tax system should become an efficient regulator here, and setting it up without delay is a requirement of the day. The CPSU Central Committee shares the just concern of the working people over a slump in discipline, the scope of mismanagement, laxity and sloppiness which affect national well-being and brake the processes of rejuvenation, and thinks that a definitive end should be put to all that. The entire society's organized rebuff should also become a tough response to the current upsurge of crime in the country.

The Soviet person must everywhere feel himself to be confident and safe—at home, in the street, and in the workplace.

The party is aware of the full measure of its responsibility for the situation in the country and in society, and is filled with resolve to put the situation right, but it cannot allow itself to make unreal promises. We must all live within our means and according to our work. The platform with which the CPSU is going to the elections does not promise an economic miracle. It is aimed at a radical improvement in the state of affairs in the national economy, and corresponds to the needs and interests of each family and each person. It is a program of socioeconomic rebirth of the country, and of reliable social protection for citizens. The party will do everything for this program to become, through common efforts, a reality of perestroyka.

Citizens of the USSR! Our union is undergoing complex trials. The echo from previous dramas is exerting an effect. Nevertheless, in the course of perestroyka a more harmonious, renewed federation and a new understanding both between people and between peoples are being born.

The party's national platform is a summary of the voters' mandate to the deputies in all levels of soviets. Specific affairs have begun to be turned toward the mutual benefit of each of the peoples in the Soviet family, and of the interethnic cohesion of the USSR. The sovereignty of all the union republics is consistently being lent full-blooded substance, while their independence is growing in political, legal, economic, and cultural terms. The rights of union republics and other national formations are being expanded.

Strong, prosperous republics are an asset to the entire country. A strong union state is an asset to each republic. The voters expect that from now on nowhere in the country will the rights of nations come into conflict with the human rights generally recognized throughout the civilized world. The CPSU is unambiguously in favor of all kinds of discrimination, including that based on nationality, being ruled out, and in favor of each family and each citizen being able to develop freely within their native national environment, and to feel comfortable in any place. National aspirations and those between nationalities are interwoven in the most tight fashion and find their organic solution in labor, educational, and military collectives. Their overwhelming majority is multinational and united thanks to common cares and interests. Today they are becoming a determining factor of the stability of relations between nationalities. The CPSU Central Committee's appeal aims at labor collectives: Always be an example of human community, mutual understanding, and cooperation! The forthcoming elections can and must form such bodies of power that would be able to tackle the solution of the most acute problems among those that have accumulated and that are arising anew, to defuse the situation where it is strained, to dampen national strife, and to restore calm, securityand confidence in the future to people throughout our country. There are no guilty peoples, any more than culpable generations. This truth lies in the foundation of he restructuring consolidation that is so necessary today. No one will do anything in our stead in our common home. The broader the social and national basis of restructuring, the more certain will be its success.

The CPSU Central Committee addresses the communists of the union republics. You belong to a single Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Thinking and acting in the interests of your republics and autonomous formations, preserve the party's unity and give a firm rebuff to any attempt to drag it asunder according to national signs. A federalization of the party would have pernicious consequences for perestroyka. Comrades electors! Vote for communist candidates, for nonparty members who are displaying solidarity with the CPSU's election platform and are actively fighting for its implementation.

Comrades! The contradictions of the current development of the country are creating extra tension in the spiritual and ideological spheres. All sorts of conjectures and inventions about possible unpheavals are putting pressure on the public consciousness. Nor are the attempts to foist unrealistic ways out of a crisis situation, or magic recipes harmless, either. To get onto the slippery path of illusions would only mean worsening the situation. The dashing phrase, which sounds attractive, has turned out many times to be the cause of huge losses and tragedy for both the people and for socialism.

Nor can one give in to the exhortations of those who, under the guise of "stabilization," would like to turn our development back, thereby casting the country once again into stagnation and degradation. Our path is foward, not backward. The Central Committee rejects this offensive lack of trust in its people. It is convinced that Soviet people have enough wisdom and courage to withstand decadent moods, to distinguish truth from invention, and not to submit to either leftist or conservative winds. We are against states of emergency, against the"iron hand," and other deviations from the chosen path. The party position is a position of realism, of democratization in politics, the economy and social development.

In evaluating the path that has been traveled since the October Revolution, we cannot say the Revolution has fulfilled everything it promised. It is also true, however, that in 7 decades the Soviet Union has become one of the most powerful states in the world. Devotion to their socialist choice has entered the people's consciousness, and their idea of justice, and has gained the status of a basic value. The party is also devoted to the same values, but this is not historic inertia. By knowing ourselves, grasping the truth of history, and overcoming errors and even tragedies, we aspire to find in the real movement of society the correct road into the future.

The Central Committee assures Soviet people that in everything it will draw upon the opinion of the people, pursue a course of changes, facilitate intellectual and moral progress and the development and mutual enrichment of cultures, create all conditions for the shaping and protection of the individual, and uphold the priority nature of values common to all mankind.

Dear comrades!

In renewing Soviet society and in giving socialism back its true democratic and humane appearance, perestroyka is transforming and improving the world around us and enhancing our prestige in it. The threat of war has been diverted and the security of the Soviet Union has been consolidated. Front-ranking and democratic forces once again find in socialism an inspiring example and link with it hopes for the building of a new, more secure and just world.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was a most important step of recent years. Today, not a single one of our soldiers is taking part in combat operations abroad anywhere in the world. The world is thawing out after the hard frost of the "cold War." Mutual understanding, cooperation, and good-neighorliness are taking over from the mistrust, suspicion, and enmity.

Vigorous foreign political activity is also closely linked with solving our domestic problems, including socioeconomic problems. Military detente is yielding tangible economic fruit. In our country a reduction in arsenals of armaments has begun and the transfer of a considerable portion of the capacities of the defense industries from military production to the production of goods for the population is being implemented.

In renewing and democratizing our armed forces—the creation and the protector of the working people—we are committed to caring about maintaining their fighting efficiency at the current level.

The party gives its assurance: the USSR's foreign policy course, which is based on the new thinking and which has received a vote of confidence from the Soviet and world public, is of fundamental and permanent nature. It will be purposefully implemented for the sake of the people's interests, and under their control.

Comrades! Perestroyka provides a real opportunity for everyone, but it demands that everyone give of themselves. Today we must all work in the manner dictated by the current situation, and then we will undoubtedly fulfill what has been planned and overcome the contradictions, conflicts, and errors that arise during the birth of a society that is new in essence.

The Central Committee calls on the working class to make its own decisive contribution to the advancement of perestroyka, to bring together its intelligence, talent, and diligence, and to help to mobilize everything that is best in our revolutionary traditions.

We are addressing the rural workers. The party is firmly adhering to its policy of making the peasant master on the land, of liberating the collective and state farms once and for all from the oppression of administration and command, and of diversifying the socialist forms of economic management. The guarantee of all the progressive shifts lies in the solution of the food program.

At this watershed hour—a word to scientific and cultural figures and to the specialists of the national economy. With your participation the people are accomplishing the most important tasks of perestroyka. Society is being enriched by a new historical, political, and ecological awareness. Without your fearless analysis and without your intensified sense of pain felt for the country's destiny, there would have been neither perestroyka nor new thinking. The party will be true to the Leninist tradition of dialogue with the intelligentsia, and it hopes that people who do intellectual work will bear the torch of goodness, mutual understanding, and brotherhood always and in every respect.

The party is pinning great hopes on our youth, on the Lenin Komsomol. We want to see it as an independent and genuinely innovative organization, taking an active part in restructuring processes. We favor the broad representation of young people in soviets of all levels, and the creation of conditions for the real participation of young men and women in the taking of responsible political decisions, in the determination of our homeland's destiny.

The party advocates full freedom, embodied in laws, of conscience and religious belief, and will promote the preservation of historical and religious buildings and popular shrines, and national traditions and rituals. It hopes that its platform will find a response with all people of good will.

The CPSU Central Committee appeals to candidate deputies, communists and nonparty people. Correlate your assurances with reality, with the party's pre-election program—a program for the decisive advancement of perestroyka, for the enhancement of the people's well-being, national consensus, and cohesion.

The CPSU Central Committee urges party committees and members of the party to be the consolidating force of useful initiatives and actions by public organizations and movements in support of perestroyka. The elections must become an important stage in the renewal and unity of the party, in the consolidation of its links with the masses, and in the enhancement of political culture in society.

Dear comrade voters! Men and women, veterans and young people! Your exactingness, your support for the CPSU's pre-election platform is a guarantee of the formation of a deputies' corps that is worthy of the tasks of perestroyka. In electing our, Soviet power, we are choosing peace, prosperity and labor in the name of a better life for all our compatriots.

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee.

TASS Summarizes Address

LD1112195389 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee adopted an address to the Soviet people at a plenary meeting on December 9, 1989, in connection with the current elections to republican and local soviets.

The appeal says that the current election campaign marks a new stage in the political reform, the essence of which is "overcoming man's alienation from power."

Describing the situation in the country as "dramatic," the Central Committee emphasises that the party "considers its chief task to lead the country as soon as possible out of the present difficult situation" and appeals to each and every voter to support the party.

"The party is open for dialogue and partnership, for constructive cooperation with all public forces, associations and groups operating on a socialist basis," the appeal says.

"Based on revolutionary changes, the party will do everything to ensure social stability in the country, harmonise interests, resolutely rebuff manifestations of right-wing or left-wing extremism, nationalism and chauvinism, and preserve the integrity of the Soviet socialist state."

The Central Committee called on the Communists of constituent republics to maintain the unity of the party and rebuff any attempts to split it along ethnic lines.

"The party's federalisation would have baneful consequences for perestroyka," the appeal says.

In its foreign policy part, the appeal points out that "renewing Soviet society, perestroyka transforms and improves the world around us and leads to the enhancement of our authority.

"The menace of war has been rolled back, the Soviet Union's security strengthened. The Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan was the most important step in recent years.

"Arms reduction has started in the Soviet Union. The conversion of a considerable part of enterprises of the military industries to civilian production is being implemented.

"The world is thawing after the cold war. Mutual understanding, cooperation and good-neighbourliness replace distrust, suspicion and animosity."

The party declared that the Soviet foreign policy, relying on new thinking, "has earned the confidence of the Soviet and world public and is of a fundamental, intransient nature."

Medvedev Holds News Conference on Plenum

LD1012173189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Statement to the press and news conference given by Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the conclusion of the 9 December CPSU Central Committee plenum in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] [Medvedev] This was a routine plenum. It examined several questions, first and foremost questions connected with the forthcoming second USSR Congress of People's Deputies which opens on Tuesday. Questions of the formation of a Russian bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, of the nomination of candidates for people's deputy of the USSR from the CPSU to replace any deputy who has dropped out, and the scheduling of elections of a people's deputy of the USSR from the CPSU were discussed. Also discussed was the appeal of the CPSU Central Committee to the Soviet people and to communists in connection with the forthcoming elections in the country to republican and local soviets.

Allow me to comment briefly on the discussion of each of these questions.

Speeches were delivered on the first point on the agenda by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Comrade Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. In his report, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev described the forthcoming Congress of People's Deputies and the questions to be discussed at it. The agenda of the second Congress of People's Deputies has been published in the press. It comprises nine questions recommended for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet. I will not go through them. I will just say that probably the main and most urgent question, if you like, will be the question of measures to improve the economy, the stages of economic reform, and principled approaches to the working out of the 13th 5-year plan.

The point at issue is a package of most important economic matters which lie before the country and which, to a considerable extent, predetermine the social, economic, and political situation in the country. Eighteen comrades spoke. The attitudes and evaluations of party workers, and of economic leaders to the discussion which is to be conducted at the Congress of Peoples' Deputies, including discussion of social and economic problems in the development of the country, and of the situation which is developing in sociopolitical life, were described in their speeches. One must say that generally the debate on the first issue took the form of a broad discussion of the fundamental problems of the country's life and of our party's activity.

The following decision was passed:

1. The plenum agrees with the evaluations and conclusions outlined in the speech of Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on matters concerning the holding of the second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

2. The CPSU Central Committee Plenum supports the proposals of the USSR Government about measures for the recovery of the economy, about stages of the economic reform, and about fundamental approaches to the elaboration of the 13th 5-year plan that are being presented for discussion by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

3. The plenum accepts the proposal to hold in January 1990 an enlarged CPSU Central Committee Plenum on issues concerning preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress. The Central Committee Politburo is instructed to determine the composition of the plenum and the preparation of the necessary materials.

That third point in the decision reflects that part of the discussion on this issue at the plenum in which the speakers mentioned the situation in the party, work in party organizations, and the need to accelerate the restructuring of party work and the party generally. This point of the decision reflects the proposals and ideas expressed at a number of party organizations and at plenums of oblast party committees about the need for broad all-party discussion of questions concerning the preparation for the 28th congress.

It is intended to publish the draft platform for the 28th party congress for general party discussion, not in spring next year, but in January, after preliminary discussion at an expanded Central Committee plenum. It must be said that even at this plenum there was in practice a general political discussion, although it was agreed by those attending the plenum that a wider discussion will be organized at the party Central Committee plenum in January, in connection with the discussion of the precongress political platform of the party.

On the second question—on the formation of a Russian bureau of the CPSU Central Committee—a speech was delivered by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The bureau has been given the task of coordinating the activity of the oblast and kray party organizations of the Russian Federation aimed at implementing the party's policy and monitoring the fulfillment of the decisions of the congresses and conferences of the party, of plenums, and of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. The bureau will hold its meetings according to need, but not less than once per month, and will adopt decisions that must obligatorily be fulfilled by party organizations of the Russian Federation. No special apparatus for the Russian Central Committee bureau will be set up. It will be supported by the existing apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee in which the alterations and transformations needed for this will be carried out.

As for the third question—the nomination of candidate people's deputies from the CPSU—it arose because one of the people's deputies from the CPSU, Comrade Abalkin, has given up his powers as a deputy—as is laid down in the constitution—in connection with his transfer to work in the Council of Ministers as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. In accordance with the law on elections, the Central Committee plenum put forward some candidates for people's deputy. Three comrades were put forward. All of them are workers. This is what the electoral law says. After the relevant discussion of the candidate deputies, elections will be held at the next Central Committee plenum, in accordance with the law.

Point four: The CPSU Central Committee's address to the Soviet people and communists: As I have already said, it is being elaborated and adopted in connection with the forthcoming elections to the republican and local soviets. The draft address has been approved in principle. It will be perfected, taking account of the remarks that have come from members of the Central Committee, and will be published in the press in the near future.

[Gerasimov] And now, questions please.

[Rosen, in English with superimposed Russian translation] James Rosen, from UPI. Your press has carried some materials about an appeal by a group of people's deputies led by Academician Sakharov to hold a 2-hour strike on Monday in order to include the issue of Article 6 of the Constitution in the agenda of the Congress of People's Deputies. If this question was discussed at the Plenum, what can you say about it?

[Medvedev] Yes, that question was touched upon in a number of speeches at the Plenum, and, naturally, the response of those comrades who touched upon that question was negative, a negative one. Such a response was actively supported by a majority of members of the Central Committee. The laws that are named there have been examined in first reading by the Supreme Soviet and published for nationwide discussion. Therefore, to raise the question of adopting them already at the Congress of People's Deputies, without a nationwide discussion, is at least contrary to logic and ethics, not to mention the fact that the Supreme Soviet appealed in a special resolution to the working people and to public organizations to refrain from strikes for a certain period considering the situation in the country. This group of people's deputies did not think it necessary to heed and to follow this appeal.

I will make no secret of the fact that in a number of speeches touching upon the question of the address it was said that such an address made by communists, party members who signed that address, is a breach of party ethics. It is incomprehensible and illogical, from the point of view that now, on the contrary, both the party, the CPSU Central Committee plenum, and leading bodies and documents call for the greatest possible consolidation, the strengthening of normal labor rhythm in the country, the strengthening of discipline, and the prevention of any actions which could damage the social and economic situation in the country which is complicated enough as it is. As regards political issues, there are no obstacles to discussing them in other forms and to expressing opinions on them in other forms, in democratic forms.

[Unidentified POLITIKA correspondent] POLITIKA of Yugoslavia. Tell me please, Comrade Medvedev, did the representative [as heard] of the Moscow party organization issue any clearer explanation as to what the appeal to the Politburo to refrain from hasty and ill-thought out political solutions means?

[Medvedev] Comrade Prokofyev spoke at the Central Committee plenum, though he did hedge by saying that he had not made any special preparations for his speech, but insofar as some Moscow problems were touched upon, he made a brief speech. A brief one; however, just at the moment I do not recall the specific aspect which you have just raised and touched upon being dealt with. By and large, I should say that the speeches on both the first and the second issue were very critical—both self-critical and critical. That also goes for Comrade Gidaspov's speech, and Comrade Prokofyev's speech, and the speeches of other comrades.

So, the activity of individual party organizations came in for criticism; the activity of the party as a whole was analyzed; and criticisms were levelled at the party Central Committee, the Politburo, and at individual members of the Politburo on various issues.

Generally, then, the spectrum of speeches was quite broad, and the spectrum of criticisms was fairly broad. In this respect, this plenum was on a par, so to speak, with the plenums that have been held in recent months—in April, May, and September. There was free, businesslike, and acutely critical discussion of all problems.

[Unidentified NOVOSTI correspondent] NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY. Vadim Andreyevich, you have said that at the plenum the central problems were those of economic reform. I have a question about this: Which matters or matter generated discussion, and what were the stances adopted by the different sides? Thank you.

[Medvedev] I have said that, by and large, the plenum looked with approval on what Comrade Ryzhkov put forward in that report. At the same time, different opinions and critical comments were voiced on a number of issues. In particular, there was debate on the issue of the timing of the various steps to stabilize the country's economic situation; on the timing of the introduction of taxation reform. Opinions were also voiced at the plenum that the introduction of a new taxation system cannot be delayed. Arguments were evinced that the issue of improving price formation cannot be put off for long. Issues relating to wholesale trading and distribution were dealt with in a number of speeches. It was said that the creation of new economic mechanisms and the rejection of the old must be synchronized without allowing any break, because the gap between the removal of the old forms and the creation of new ones hurts us in many ways—and not just economic ways, incidentally. Also in the reform of the political system—we must create the new machinery and the new structures more quickly, without being held up, because whether you like it or not, it means either maintaining the old and obsolete structures, or else it means a period, so to speak, when the old structures have already been removed and the new ones have not yet been created. This creates great complications both in the sphere of political reform, in the ideological sphere, and so on.

[Unnamed correspondent—in English with superimposed Russian translation] A question please from TIME magazine. I would like to know if Article 6 of the constitution was discussed at the plenum. I don't think that if it were included in the congress agenda it would be possible to remove that article from the USSR Constitution. What is your position?

[Medvedev] This position is a very simple one. It boils down to the fact that we are not clinging to Article 6 in the form in which it exists in the current constitution, and we do not wish to say that it must be preserved, whatever the cost, in its present wording. There is a very rapid perestroyka process underway in the political system, and a reform process has begun within the party itself, transforming it from a sort of nucleus, the state nucleus of our political system, a governing nucleus that directly manages everything and gives instructions to everyone, into a political vanguard that acts by political methods; that is, into a force that devises policy and proposes it to the people and that campaigns for the people's support for that policy. In fact, the approach needed here—and this is something Mikhail Sergeyevich mentioned today—is not a hasty one, not one influenced by emotions and rallies, tearing individual articles out of the constitution and eliminating them altogether or else reformulating them, but a broad conceptual approach; and not only as regards individual articles, but the constitution as a whole.

The Constitutional Commission is at work, and in the course of that work many articles will obviously have to be reviewed and even removed, including [changes thought] no taboo is being placed, so to speak, by us—for ourselves, of course—on that article either. It will have to be brought into line with contemporary realities and with the party's actual position in society, bearing in mind the fact that the party's role is not as an object of legislative regulation, so to speak, but this is the objective result of the actual state of affairs. This is also something we understand perfectly. But as for turning Article 6 into an object of political speculation and exploiting the debate over this in order to damage the party's authority, this is probably something that should not be done. Yet if this is either a striving, so to speak, by people and party members to gain a deeper understanding of the issue, to clear it up, or a striving to improve constitutional norms and bring them in line with the real state of affairs, then it is something that we should welcome and take into account and on that basis move forward.

[Unidentified correspondent, in English with superimposed Russian translation] Mr Medvedev, has there been any criticism on the part of non-Russian members of the Cental Committee about the formation of the Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee?

[Medvedev] The creation of an independent Communist Party of Russia is a very responsible step. Before it is undertaken, experience must be painstakingly weighed up and accumulated. Since Russia represents half, or perhaps more, of our country's entire economic potential, and approximately half of the population, and to some extent is the main pivot of the union, it may be that here, for this reason, the criteria of party structure which are appropriate for other republics do not fully correspond to the specific features of the Russian Federation. These are all just arguments, however. What is needed is practical experience. It is, in fact, as a first step toward this that the decision has been made to set up a Russian Bureau of the Central Committee, formed by the party Central Committee after discussion and consultations with the oblast and kray party organizations.

The Russian Bureau of the Central Committee will no longer be a nucleus which is built into the state system, a nucleus for the direct administration of absolutely everything in the Russian Federation. It will be a political body, or rather a body of political leadership and for the coordination of party work, for the development of political positions and political decisions concerning Russia, and for the development of economic policy concerning Russia. There are a very great number of problems here, especially problems concerning the siting of production forces and the comprehensive development of various regions in Russia. This particularly applies to the East, where, as you know, there is a very powerful concentration of branches of heavy industry, and where there is a great burden on underground resources; but where proper attention has not been paid up to now to the comprehensive development of industry, agriculture, and the social infrastructure, and where, to some exent, there are still residual elements, so to speak, of that view of the East which sees it as an inexhaustible treasure-house of fuel and raw material resources. I think that it is no accident that many hotbeds of social tension have arisen in precisely the eastern and northern regions, the northern regions of our country.

So, it will be development of socioeconomic policy, cultural policy that is also aimed at the preservation of historical and cultural monuments, but the kind of policy which will not, of course, single out this federation of ours, this unique state and national formation, but rather a policy which thinks within the framework of the union, of our common socioeconomic and spiritual development.

[Unidentified EL PAIS correspondent] EL PAIS, Spain. I would like to learn some details of these critical observations which were put to the Politburo. That is my first question. My second question is this: Were there people who spoke who expressed either lack of confidence of criticism of Gorbachev? if this did happen, what was it about and who spoke in that way?

[Medvedev] The general secretary is inseparable from the Politburo. But critical observations made to the Politburo must first and foremost be studied and comprehended. There were—in general, I must say that they amount to this, that we have to act more resolutely, that lagging behind the pace of events cannot be allowed to happen, that initiative in perestroyka cannot be neglected. That is the character of the observations that were made with regard to us. I think that they have to be taken into consideration. Expressed in connection with some particular specific grounds they are correct in principle because they reflect the situation in the country, they reflect the acuteness of it, they reflect the need to move along the road of perestroyka more actively, more quickly, and more resolutely.

Unfortunately, there were also observations of a more general character, that the party bodies in the localities and the public organizations need more precise political and ideological reference points, although there and then the same comrades who were speaking, or others, quoted and referred to some very important documents of recent times which contain such political and ideological and theoretical interpretation. I am thinking, first and foremost, of the article by Comrade Gorbachev in PRAVDA which contains a serious and fundamental analysis, an historical and theoretical analysis of our experience, of the experience of past development; it contains assessments of the current situation and gives a broad exposition of our views into the future. That is to say, it provides an answer to the questions: Where are we going? What are we calling upon people to do?

Although one article is of course a very good thing, both our ideological front and our social scientists have to go on working further. This kind of work, creative work, is taking place. It is not without its extremes, without points of view of a kind that are described, on the one hand, as a kind of tribute offered to conservative and dogmatic feelings and expressed in the fact that all our misfortunes allegedly come from perestroyka, that perestroyka is supposedly an idea that has been tossed over to use from the West and that that is allegedly why they are giving us some very strong praise in the West for perestroyka, that we should think about it here. That is one side of the matter, and I will say that this did find some kind of reflection in the work of today's Central Committee plenum, too.

[Unidentified JULLANDPOSTEN correspondent] A question, from the Danish newspaper JULLANDSPOSTEN. Did you discuss recent events in Eastern Europe, and what was the reaction?

[Medvedev] The report of Comrade Gorbachev on the first issue also touched upon certain international problems. This included mention of the changes which are occurring in the countries of Eastern Europe. There was mention of the latest foreign policy actions of our country. The Central Committee members were informed about the results of the meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and President Bush, about his trip to Italy, about the visit, and about the meeting with Mitterand, and about the meeting with leaders of the states participating in the Warsaw Pact.

As for the evaluations of the processes which are occurring in the countries of Eastern Europe, you know that Comrade Gorbachev has spoken about them in his recent speeches and at press conferences. The transformations in the countries of Eastern Europe, which are being mentioned, have become due, and became due not today but considerably sooner, and it is possible that the processes—and evidently, quite clearly—would have developed differently if they had commenced and had taken place several years earlier. We have never, under any conditions, imposed on even our close friends our own example of perestroyka. But the problems and comparisons of the development of countries have been discusssed regularly at meetings at various levels, at meetings between Comrade Gorbachev and the leaders of all socialist countries. So then, today these transformations are taking place in fairly rapid forms that are difficult for the people of those countries. It simply is necessary to hope that these processes will lead to positive results. It is important that they should not lead to destabilization of the atmosphere, to disruption of the realities which have formed in Europe. This is very important.

So these issues were also not passed over in silence in Comrade Gorbachev's speech at the plenum. But the debate mostly concerned problems of domestic development in the country.

[Unidentified BUSINESS WEEK correspondent, in English with superimposed Russian translation] The magazine, BUSINESS WEEK: if the Lithuanian communists decide at their congress to leave the structure of the CPSU, what can you say about this?

[Medvedev] This question has been touched upon in speeches, in that we are in favor of a united, internationalist Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with a serious extension of the independence of the union republics' communist parties. In this scheme, wishes have been expressed to the Lithuanian comrades that solutions be found by which the Lithuanian communists make their contribution to the restructuring of our party and its democraticization, and by holding their congress, remaining part of the Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

I was in Lithuania recently and had many meetings with the communists of Lithuania and with the leadership of the Lithuanian Communist Party. In general, the conclusion clearly emerges from these conversations that even now, although not all decisions have been made and not all the processes have developed as regards the restructuring of our party and the extension of the independence of the union republics' communist parties, there are practically no questions concerning the activity of the union republics' communist parties which cannot be solved within the framework of our party. Practically no problems arise concerning limiting independence or restricting rights in solving any questions, political, organizational, and so on. Not only the union republics' communist parties, but the oblast and kray party organizations can also have their electoral programs, and communist parties can have their own programs and documents, which take into account the peculiarities and conditions of their own republics. They are completely independent in solving practically all cadre questions. They also have wide rights in the staff and finance field, although a series of questions need to be solved here, concerning the budget and the assignation of means. There are no problems which cannot be solved.

Well, whether the republic's communist party can gain by ceasing to be a part of the CPSU, or whether it will lose by this, I in my speeches and conversations have tried to show that the gains will be illusory—and maybe even be negative because of this—and the loss will be very great, very great. But let's not guess what will happen, and which measures, let's say, will be necessary, what steps will be necessary after one set of decisions or another has been adopted. Let's wait for 19 December when the Lithuanian Communist Party's congress will begin its work, and will carry it out.

[Gerasimov] Thank you for your attention.

CPSU Plenum, Communists' Role in Congress Viewed

PM1112151789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Ilin article under the rubric "Talking Point": "A Communist's Place Is in the Front Ranks"]

[Text] Among last week's political events particular public attention has undoubtedly been generated by the CPSU Central Committee plenum. In his plenum speech M.S. Gorbachev analyzed the party's priority tasks in connection with the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which opens tomorrow. The plenum adopted a corresponding resolution on this question, as well as the CPSU Central Committee Appeal "To the Soviet People and Communists," which will be published in the press. A CPSU Central Committee Russian Bureau headed by M.S. Gorbachev was also set up. It has been decided to hold an enlarged Central Committee plenum in January 1990 on the questions of preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress.

The immense interest shown by Communists and the entire Soviet people in the work of our party's central staff is understandable. The country is currently going through the most complex phase of perestroyka and the revolutionary renewal of society. Socioeconomic problems have become extremely exacerbated. The divergence of opinions on the prospects for our development is obvious, and discussions—which are often sharply critical—are under way about the place and role of the CPSU. This dictates the need for constructive actions by all party organizations and each Communist in the main avenues of perestroyka.

The people's demands on Communists who are USSR people's deputies are probably particularly high. On the eve of the new forum of the country's supreme organ of state power we inevitably recall the turbulent days of the First Congress. Most Soviet people rightly consider it to have been a highly important landmark on the road of democratization, the assertion of an atmosphere of glasnost, and the formation of a rule-of-law state. But by no means everything in the Congress' work satisfied us. In particular—and the editorial office received this opinion from a large number of primary party organizations—there was dissatisfaction with the low activeness and sometimes indifference to adopted decisions on the part of a large number of Communist deputies, who make up more than four-fifths of the corps of deputies. Admittedly, certain Communist deputies were memorable and shone with vivid speeches from the rostrum. However, many people said nothing. And often the voices of Communists, including party workers, could not be heard when wholesale criticism was made of the party.

It is not a question, of course, of assessing each word of criticism as an "attack" on the party—which is the mistake that some people often make, unfortunately. But, clearly, we must distinguish between constructive criticism dictated by a concern to accelerate perestroyka and party renewal, and an opportunist desire to score points with stinging phrases aimed at the gallery and superficial effect. We hope that the Second Congress will be held in a businesslike fashion and give new impetus to the resolution of the urgent problems of social development.

Recently there has been a lot of dispute about the status of the Russian party organization. Its role in the current complex situation and a period of the exacerbation of interethnic relations is higher than ever. Communists from our country's largest republic—and the Central Committee plenum repeatedly stressed this—should fully recognize their supreme responsibility for the fate of perestroyka and the maintenance and strengthening of the Leninist principles of friendship among the peoples of the USSR. The creation of a CPSU Central Committee Russian Bureau will help to step up the activity of the republic's party organizations and to increase their influence on the processes of renewal of both the party and all of society.

Each new day brings us new hopes and new concerns. Communists are called upon to be in the front ranks of perestroyka, where our country's fate is being decided. Through their convictions, personal example, and the activeness of their efforts they should inspire others to achieve the historic goals of perestroyka and travel the path of socialist renewal.

Congress of People's Deputies

Lukyanov: 'Congress Convenes at a Crucial Moment'

LD0912001989 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Report on interview with USSR Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov by special correspondents Aleksandr Plevako and Vyacheslav Terekhov in the Moscow Kremlin; date not given—Lukyanov recorded in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] In the Moscow Kremlin the Soviet Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov has received Radio Moscow's Special Correspondents Aleksandr Plevako and Vyacheslav Terekhov to reply to questions asked by our foreign listeners. Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Italy has thrown public interest in Soviet life and warm feelings toward this country into bold relief. Naturally, Radio Moscow's foreign listeners have been wondering what's going on in the Soviet Union on the eve of the Congress of People's Deputies and what is expected of the Congress itself. Vice President Lukyanov:

[Lukyanov] The congress convenes at a crucial moment; I'd even say at a turning point in perestroyka. It will naturally focus on ways of promoting the restructuring. High on the agenda will be the question of how to stabilize the national economy, what stages the current reform is to go through, and what criteria should be employed in drafting the next 5-year economic development plan.

[Question] Extensive debates have been underway in the West over the stand adopted by the Interregional Deputies Group. Some have suggested it may advance its own platform or come up with initiatives of its own. Many have been viewing the group as an opposition organization. How does Anatoliy Lukyanov see the role of the Interregional Group, and are there any other parliamentary factions influencing the Supreme Soviet's performance?

[Lukyanov] The public attention has lately been called, and not without assistance from the national media, to the activity of only one group of parliamentarians, the Interregional Deputies Group, which incidentally has a very heterogeneous structure and involves people of different views and orientations. The media seem to have been overlooking the fact that there are other major factions within parliament, the agrarian group for one, which has made a number of suggestions on the agenda for the congress, or the workers' group that has been increasingly vocal of late. A serious influence on parliament and the congress has been exerted by the ecological faction, as well as the groups of women parliamentarians, veterans and younger people. In fact, the Supreme Soviet consists of a variety of stable groups pursuing their specific interests and having platforms of their own. The women parliamentarians, for example, have advanced a number of suggestions that are expected to be discussed shortly not only in parliament but also in the cabinet and elsewhere. Their suggestions are written down in a draft resolution on improving the position of Soviet women. Younger parliamentarians have come up with a draft law on the youth, a major project that may require multibillion allocations. The environmentalists have worked out a draft resolution on improving the ecological situation in the country that was recently passed by the Supreme Soviet. The Interregional Group which has been criticizing various things rather extensively has advanced notably fewer constructive suggestions than any other parliamentary faction.

[Question] A short while ago the Supreme Soviet passed a resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO]. Judging by reports from Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Karabakh itself, people's reaction to it has been negative. What's the fate of that resolution and why was it adopted?

[Lukyanov] The Supreme Soviet's Presidium and the Interethnic Relations Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities spent a long time looking for a way out of the difficult situation and took a decision meeting halfway the interests of both the Armenian and Azerbaijani republics. We suggested that the conflict be settled on a basis of consensus by political not forceful methods. The most tangible proof that it was indeed a consensus way of solving the problem is the fact that Azerbaijan has labelled the decision pro-Armenian and Armenia pro-Azerbaijani. We are still convinced we've suggested a feasible solution, guaranteeing genuine autonomy for the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, respect for all ethnic specifics and, which is most important, the protection of the rights of the citizens of long-suffering Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Question] Were the opportunities discussed for giving Nagorno-Karabakh the status of a union territory?

[Lukyanov] Well, we agreed that that would be a solution suiting neither the Azerbaijani delegation nor the Supreme Soviet. When we set up the special administration commission we imbued it for some time with certain functions of a union body. That, however, failed to give the desired effect. We have concluded by trial and error that the decision suggested by parliament is the best and most feasible one.

[Question] One of the problems now extensively discussed in the West is the future of the Lithuanian Communist Party organization, which has been discussing the prospect of seceding from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. How feasible does Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov think that the secession is and how can it (?affect) the internal political situation and the position of the Soviet Communist Party on the eve of its congress?

[Lukyanov] The Soviet Communist Party has from Lenin's time never been a federation of communist parties; it has been a single multinational association of communists based on the principles of democratic centralism. We have opposed all attempts to turn democratic centralism into a bureaucratic centralism and we are still convinced the party must be preserved as a single organization with the republican Communist Parties existing within its framework. The unity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a guarantee of the unity of the Soviet federation. Of course each republican party organization must be given greater independence in dealing with its problems and contributing its own ideas to a general program of the party's action. That is the indisputable right of each republic; but on the whole the Communist Party is a single and unified multinational political organization. That is our basic belief, which Mikhail Gorbachev spelled out in his address to Lithuanian Communists who, we hope, will give those arguments the most serious attention.

I think the arguments which are meant in Gorbachev's address for Lithuanian Communists only are equally relevant for the Communist Party organizations in each of the other Soviet republics as well.

[Question] On behalf of the multimillion foreign audience of Radio Moscow we are expressing gratitude to Vice-President Anatoliy Lukyanov for finding the time at this complex moment to reply to questions which are of interest to our listeners. Anatoliy Lukyanov concluded with the following words.

[Lukyanov] I wish every success to your radio station and all of your listeners who are interested in Soviet life and the future of perestroyka. I hope they will make well-balanced assessments of the situation in the USSR.

'Heated Discussion' of Congress Agenda Expected

LD1112144689 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

There is every reason to believe that the first hours of the work of the Second Congress of USSR people's deputies, opening in the Kremlin tomorrow, will see a heated discussion of its agenda.

The Congress is expected to discuss a report by the country's government on the prospects for economic reform, to adopt changes and addenda to the country's constitution on matters concerning the electoral system, a law on constitutional compliance and to elect a USSR Committee for Constitutional Compliance.

The deputies are also to endorse a package of bills regulating the activities of the country's top legislative bodies and to hear reports by the commissions set up at the first congress.

In recent weeks the question as to what kind of an agenda the congress should have was the focus of attention of the country's public.

Opinions divided at the Supreme Soviet's second session when a number of deputies suggested that laws on property, land, a taxation system and other fundamental legal acts be discussed at the Congress.

It was also suggested that the fate of the Constitution's Article Six sealing the Communist Party's leading role in Soviet society be decided upon.

The proposals did not get support from a majority of deputies at that time. However, they are now being voiced again at rallies and are figuring in some lawmakers' remarks.

Speaking at the December 9 plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised that any article of the Soviet Constitution may be reassessed or excluded in the process of elaborating a new fundamental law, whereas the demand to raise the Article Six issue urgently is aimed at counterposing the Party to the working people.

Proposals about adopting fundamental economic laws at this particular congress are also ill-considered: they have been brought up for a nationwide discussion because they involve the interests of the whole of society.

More important now is something else: to determine the very concept of further economic transformations and the most rational ways to implement it.

Therefore the central item on the agenda, suggested by the Supreme Soviet, is a report by the country's government on measures to normalise the economy, on phases of the economic reform and on principles for the elaboration of a 1991-1995 plan.

In society, there are different, at times diametrically opposed, opinions about ways to overcome crisis trends in the economy.

The Congress is to hear arguments from all the sides and to choose optimum solutions that would make it possible to proceed with due regard for the country's realistic resources.

The Soviet Union's supreme state power body is also expected to answer another question uppermost in Soviet people's minds—how to curb the growth of organised crime.

The Soviet parliament has already taken some measures in this respect. However, one cannot say that the situation has improved.

Of course, the discussion of such a wide range of issues is inconceivable without keen argument and the clash of different points of view.

The main thing now is to prevent "discussions for the sake of discussions". Already the first days of the Congress proceedings will show to what extent the people's deputies of the USSR are ready for that.

Congress of People's Deputies Previewed

LD1212053989 Moscow TASS in English 0535 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the supreme body of state authority, opens in the Kremlin at 10 a.m. (7 a.m. GMT) today.

More than 2,000 people's deputies take part in the Congress.

The first Congress of People's Deputies that turned a new page in the Soviet Union's political history, was held from May 25 to June 9, 1989. It assumed full power. The Congress determined the main directions of the home and foreign policy in conditions of perestroyka and formed the permanently operating parliament, the Supreme Soviet, and other central bodies of management.

This Congress is to decide a number of questions of utmost importance. The key item of the preliminary agenda is the government's report on measures for economic improvement and prospects for the economic reform.

There are also plans to discuss a set of constitutional-legal matters, among them changes in the Constitution of the USSR which will enable the holding of elections to republican and local government bodies in a new way, on a democratic basis.

There are plans to adopt a law on constitutional compliance and elect a USSR Committee on Constitutional Compliance.

The deputies are to discuss and endorse a package of bills regulating the activity of supreme bodies of state authority.

There will be reports of the commissions formed at the first Congress, specifically of the commission on political and legal assessment of the 1939 Soviet-German non-aggression pact.

But this is merely a preliminary agenda. The final agenda will be determined by the congress.

Most probably, other items will also be suggested, journalists hold.

For instance, a proposal to discuss the expediency of retaining Article 6 of the Constitution of the USSR, registering the leading role of the Soviet Communist Party in the political system of society, was advanced during a debate in the Supreme Soviet on the agenda of the Congress.

The proposal has not earned the majority of votes then, but many believe that at the Congress's opening there will be the proposal for a new discussion.

There are deputies who favour speeding up the adoption of laws on property, on land and some other laws that were discussed in parliament but were found insufficiently worked out. There will possibly be proposals to put them on the agenda of the Congress.

The Second Congress is expected to last for ten days.

Agenda Detailed

LD1212091189 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies—the supreme state power body of the Soviet Union—opened in the Kremlin this morning.

More than two thousand deputies will discuss major issues concerning the country's life. The key item on the tentative agenda is a government report on measures to normalise the economy and on prospects for the economic reform. The report will be made by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

It is also planned to consider a package of constitutional and legal matters, including changes in the Soviet Constitution, that will make it possible to hold elections for republican and local government bodies in a new way, on a democratic basis.

The Congress is expected to adopt a law on constitutional compliance and to elect a USSR Committee on constitutional compliance. There was no such committee in the country's political structure before.

The deputies are to endorse a package of bills regulating the activities of the country's top legislative bodies. It is also planned to discuss matters concerning efforts to combat organised crime.

The Congress will hear reports by three deputies' commissions, set up at the first congress: On political and legal assessments of the 1939 Soviet-German Treaty on Non-attack; For checking the materials connected with the activities of the USSR Procurator's Office's group of investigators headed by Telman Gdlyan (the investigation dealt with instances of bribery and corruption in Uzbekistan); and for investigation of the circumstances connected with the development in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, on April 9, 1989.

However, this is only a tentative agenda. It will be finally determined by the Congress itself. The Congress is expected to continue until December 22.

The first Congress of People's Deputies was held from May 25 to June 9, this year. It assumed the entire fullness of power in the country. The Congress determined main directions for domestic and foreign policy in perestoyka conditions and formed a permanently functioning parliament—the Supreme Soviet—and other central administration bodies.

Congress of People's Deputies Begins

LD1212071689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0708 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 Dec (TASS)—The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies began work in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses at 1000 hours [Moscow time] today. The session is being chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Moscow TV Carries Congress of People's Deputies

0658 GMT

LD1212074589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0658 GMT on 12 December begins to broadcast a live relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 0658 GMT deputies can be seen taking their places in the Kremlin Palace of the Congresses.

At 0659 GMT Mikhail Gorbachev is seen walking onto the platform.

At 0700 GMT a bell rings. Gorbachev stands and begins to speak, welcoming everyone to the Second Congress of People's Deputies, 6 months after the first one. These 6 months have been very busy ones. A turning point in the awareness of our people has taken place. A powerful movement of the popular masses has come into being and is irreversible. The country is moving towards the formation of a socialist, law governed state, Gorbachev says.

At 0703 GMT Gorbachev says there is still rightful criticism being voiced at things that are being done. The main result of the work of the Supreme Soviet is the new series of laws that have been discussed, the law on lease contracting and others. There are the legislative acts that will determine the life of our country for decades to come. The power of the people is one of the radical aims of perestroyka.

At 0705 GMT Gorbachev says that we consider it realistic to adopt these new laws in the spring of the new year. Gorbachev talks about the turn around needed in the economy and says that unfortunately things in this direction have not gone well. A solution is awaited to these problems from the people and the government.

At 0706 GMT Gorbachev adds that there are other important issues on the agenda, but the way the decision on the economy is adopted will be the main thing in people's minds. We have a lot of problems, things are difficult, but we have a lot of forces that can be harnessed thanks to glasnost and democratization. As never before, we need good organization and discipline. We are all of one opinion on that, I think.

At 0709 GMT he says this is not a call for a return to old conditions. It is a call to ensure the groundwork for perestroyka. He quotes a worker who appeared on the December 10 Seven Days television program.

At 0710 GMT Gorbachev concludes that we need the consolidation of society more than anything else in order to solve our problems. Let this Congress become an important landmark in the consolidation of our people. [applause]

At 0711 GMT Gorbachev says that 2,106 of the 2,249 deputies are present so the Congress can open. Gorbachev then declares the Congress open and the national anthem is played.

0715 GMT

LD1212083789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0715 GMT on 12 December continues its live relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 0715 GMT Gorbachev says that virtually the whole of yesterday was spent discussing preparations for holding the congress. There was a meeting with deputies' groups which decided to set up a working presidium for the congress. This will include representatives of all union republic. Because the Lithuanian, Supreme Soviet chairman is ill, someone else will take his place. Gorbachev says that electronic voting equipment has been installed and invites a communications official to talk about how this will work.

At 0717 GMT the communications official begins to explain the electronic voting system. He says it is an interim system supplied by the Philips company. It will work just for this congress and will be replaced by a permanent system at a later date. He describes the way deputies will vote at small voting panels each used by up to six deputies. Deputies will have their own individual cards to enable them to vote. The camera shows close-ups of the voting panels. It is important to insert your card into the machine the right way.

At 0721 GMT the official continues to explain how the voting equipment is used, the significance of different lights on the panel, one of which indicates that the vote has been registered. He says the results of the voting will be displayed on panels. There will be a subcommission to sort out errors—all named. There are bound to be difficulties the first time, but during the course of the day we expect to lessen the time taken for each vote to 3 minutes and do better than that in subsequent days.

At 0723 GMT Gorbachev asks for questions. Detailed questions are put to the communications official who answers them. He notes voting by name is possible.

At 0724 GMT Gorbachev says the issue was discussed thoroughly with the representatives of the deputies' groups yesterday: Academician Velikhov and others assured me that it should work without deception.

At 0725 GMT Deputy Murashov rises and says instructions should have been circulated to deputies earlier.

At 0727 GMT Gorbachev says it will help get rid of the tiresome procedures of the last congress, but then machines are machines. He asks for a vote on the composition of the voting commission.

At 0728 GMT the display panel is illuminated with the word: voting. At the same time a clock counts down the time from 3 minutes. One deputy is shown putting his card in the wrong way and then being shown how to do it by a colleague.

At 0732 GMT Gorbachev says he's an optimist and hopes that it will be quicker than an actual count. The result appears on the screen showing an apparent majority in favor but the words—not adopted—appear on the panel. The official rises and explains the reason for this: The deputies did not use the equipment in exactly the right way. It is important to put the card in correctly. The official explains again the important features of the voting procedure. The camera shows close shots of individual deputies fumbling with their cards.

At 0738 GMT the result is displayed, this time with the remarks: adopted. Gorbachev says not everyone has mastered the system yet, but we're on the right track.

At 0739 GMT Gorbachev notes that they have to appoint a secretariat of the Congress. You have in your hands a list of its proposed composition, he says.

Deputy Vare rises and asks to be replaced on account of his serious ill-health. A proposal for his replacement has been put forward.

Deputy Golubkov rises and says that some voting cards are not working.

Deputy Kutsenko rises to ask if someone else should be excluded because of earlier misbehavior and demands an apology. Gorbachev finds it strange that Kutsenko did not say anything about this when he had the chance yesterday. The alleged offender is Deputy Georgiy Korneyevich Kryuchkov. A Ukrainian official comes to the rostrum and gives further background details on the dispute. She depicts Kutsenko as the offender. He was wearing a Ukrainian nationalist badge.

At 0746 GMT Deputy Naydenov from the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic rises and expresses regret that his republic is not represented in the secretariat. He proposes (Luzhnikov).

At 0747 GMT Gorbachev asks for a vote on the proposals that have been made. Do we agree to Vare's request to be released and substitued by Comrade (?Aasme). Gorbachev takes a vote in the old way asking people to raise their hands.

At 0749 GMT Gorbachev puts the Kutsenko proposal to the vote. Voices from the floor say do it by the machine. Gorbachev says he misunderstood: the desire is for a vote on the proposal of the deputies' group, which elaborated on the Kutsenko proposal. The vote takes place using the machine.

At 0753 GMT the vote is taken. Gorbachev now asks for a vote on Kutsenko's proposal. The previous voting figures were 1,454 for, 422 against, with 54 abstentions.

0755 GMT

LD1212092489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0755 GMT on 12 December continues its live relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 0755 GMT Gorbachev says the first experience of voting shows that a minimum of 3, possibly 4 minutes, is required for each vote, but that is a 10-fold improvement over the situation without the machinery.

At 0757 GMT the results on the vote on the Kutsenko proposals are given: 478 for, 1,426 against, 63 abstentions.

At 0758 GMT Gorbachev invites a vote on the Komi deputy's proposal. Some call for an open vote, but a majority want an accurate, machine-counted, vote. The voting is done by using the equipment.

At 0800 GMT Moldavian Deputy (Muntyan) asks if the voting procedures can be speeded up even more—down to 2 minutes. Gorbachev says yes, we'll change to a 2-minute voting system, still using the machine.

At 0801 GMT an unidentified deputy says that the deputy's groups spokesman was wrong in saying Kutsenko's badge was nationalist—it was national. He finally identifies himself as Bratun. Gorbachev says let's let the Ukrainian deputies' group sort this matter out. Meanwhile the deputies vote to include Luzhnikov in the Secretariat.

At 0804 GMT Gorbachev says can we now therefore vote on the composition of the Secretariat for the congress as a whole? The composition is voted on. The vote on the composition of the secretariat: 1,732 in favor, 100 against, 31 abstained.

At 0807 GMT Gorbachev goes on to talk about the need now to adopt the agenda. This has been thoroughly discussed in preparation for the congress session. Reaching an optimal solution on the agenda was not easy. Discussions have taken place in the commissions and committees with many people's deputies. It was discussed yesterday. We decided to propose the recommended agenda now in your hands. There are eight issues aimed at moving forward the processes of perestroyka. Gorbachev brings up the government report. In order to discuss this as fully as possible we propose to allocate one whole day to work on this item in sections. Three sections will be formed and every deputy will be able to choose one of them. Yesterday, Gorbachev says, proposals were made concerning changes to the constitution and dividing the responsibilities of the republics and the union. We reached the conclusion yesterday that it cannot simply be included like that—preparatory work has to be made.

He said they discussed Article 13 of the Constitution on electoral provisions. The deputies' group was united. When the laws on land, property, financial autonomy, and the division of competences are adopted, then the Supreme Soviet can agree on the three main points. There is also a draft rules of the congress for your approval.

Gorbachev continues to speak about procedural matters. An item has been included providing for discussion on the growth in organized crime. There will be a report on this by the minister of internal affairs. There will be reports by three commissions. He speaks about the length of time the congress will work. Everyone agrees that this should be 10 days, though some wanted it to be extended.

At 0821 GMT Gorbachev completes his exposition on the agenda and says that we must now start the discussion.

0821 GMT

LD1212093489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0821 GMT on 12 December continues its live relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 0821 GMT Gorbachev asks should we do it point by point? Voices from the floor indicate approval. So Gorbachev says open your agendas. On the first point of the agenda there is no need for a vote. On the second point: measures to improve the economy, report by the Council of Ministers. Without a vote everyone agrees that this should be left in the agenda.

Point three: making changes to the constitution on the electoral law. Gorbachev invites views and Deputy Lauristin takes the rostrum. She says that at the deputies' group session all paragraphs were voted on en bloc. The Lithuanian deputies have decided to raise this issue once again because it is topical, it is felt that this should be changed. We propose that there should be a change in Article 6 and a law on parties, that this should be discussed.

At 0825 GMT a deputy from Latvia takes the rostrum and says why he thinks this is important. He refers to an earlier meeting with Yazov referring to events in Tbilisi.

At 0827 GMT Deputy Yevtushenko takes the rostrum. Yevtushenko speaks of his respect for the party as the initiator of perestroyka. He is a nonparty person but he thinks that Article 6 should be discussed. He knows many members of the party want this. Article 6 should be on the agenda. Authority should not be prescribed, it should be earned. (applause)

At 0829 Gorbachev says let's vote: Are there any other proposals? There is.

An unamed deputy says that this will get in the way of discussing very important legislation. The congress must not set an example of contempt for our constitution.

At 0831 GMT Gorbachev says we have a line-up of people wanting to speak. Klautsen, from Riga, takes the rostrum. Gorbachev wonders if he's put his name down to speak or not. He has. Klautsen says Latvia and Estonia have held the first stage of their elections. He was able to perceive the feelings of voters. On the proposed change to Article 6: We are worried, Klautsen says, about the economic situation, people say how long can this difficult economic situation go on? We've been working at it for years now. The results are not to be seen. It would therefore be wrong to deflect the congress from the important work it has to do on the economy. (applause) Finally, on people attempting to use strikes to achieve their own objectives. The attempt to do this in Riga failed. We should condemn the deputies' group that tried to do this as mistaken and harmful.

At 0835 GMT Gorbachev intervenes to ask deputies to refrain from shouting during the course of the debates—Let us do everything calmly. He repeats his question: Article 6 has been raised as a topic for inclusion in the agenda. It is clear that there are two points of view. Are we going to go on discussing it? There is also a second issue that has risen to the surface.

At 0837 GMT Deputy Sharayev takes the rostrum: On the issue of Article 6 you have all read Gorbachev's recent speech at the plenum which sets out the Politburo position on this perfectly clearly. He proposes a vote be taken on the agenda without any further proposals. Gorbachev asks for further proposals. Deputy says let's have a vote by name on the issue of whether or not to discuss Article 6. It's not an attack on the party, it's the fight to safeguard its authority. Gorbachev again asks for further proposals.

At 0841 GMT Deputy (Palichko) proposes that we return to the issue of the USSR Constitutional Commission. He complains that the composition of the Constitutional Commission is not right. It's not just a question of getting rid of Grossu, Shcherbiskiy and Chebrikov; it should be one republic, one voice.

At 0842 GMT Gorbachev appeals for no pressure to be put on the Presidium. If deputies have no new proposals will they please return to their seats.

At 0843 GMT Deputy Solovyev calls for an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet in February to settle all of these issues.

0844 GMT

LD1212095189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0844 GMT on 12 December continues its live relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 0844 GMT Deputy Kraykov says all this was agreed yesterday. It was proposed that these things should not be discussed, but worked through not hastily but at the next session of the Supreme Soviet. Let the Supreme Soviet be entrusted with the right to change the constitution if needs be.

At 0845 GMT Deputy Lopatin takes the rostrum and refers to an earlier decision of the congress. We should return to the formula adopted then and not discuss this any further.

At 0847 GMT Deputy Plotnikov says that the priority of the Komsomol should be revized.

At 0848 GMT an unnamed deputy proposes a referendum should be held on the land law.

At 0850 GMT Sakharov proposes that the removal from the constition of those articles which block the adoption of a law on property should be discussed.

Gorbachev says who is going to define what articles these are? Let's not put pressure on each other by claiming the confidence of the people.

At 0851 GMT Deputy (Davletuviani) takes the rostrum: He supports the idea that Article 6 should be discussed, but that Article 51 on the right to form public organizations should also be discussed.

At 0852 GMT Gorbachev speaks. Deputy Lauristin did say something yesterday, but those who took part in the meeting know that everything was considered. A vote was taken. There must not be any talk of things having been manipulated. That is a very serious accusation. So let's decide on discussing Article 6—Discussion of the law on property, on land. He lists the proposals briefly that have been proposed.

At 0856 GMT there are calls from the floor apparently about the fact that the voting machinery and its cards are not working properly. Gorbachev asks who's to blame? The Philips company or our adjusters? Gorbachev says we'll have a break now, 20 minutes, during which the engineers might be able to do something.

At 0858 GMT the live relay ends.

Gorbachev Opening Speech at Congress

LD1212085189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0650 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Opening speech by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the Second Congress of People's Deputies in the Moscow Kremlin on 12 December—live]

[Text] Dear comrades. First of all, permit me to cordially greet all of you in connection with the opening of the Second Congress of People's Deputies. [applause] There have been 6 months between the current congress and the First Congress of People's Deputies which laid the foundation for a political system that is being radically renewed. During this half year we have lived at an extremely intense pace. There have been few times in the history of the fatherland which can be compared with this in the number of events, and their effect upon the country's destiny and its future.

In essence, precisely during this period there has been a turning point in the consciousness of our people. The revolutionary transformations begun at the party's initiative have turned into a wide-ranging and powerful movement of the popular masses, and this movement is invincible. By obtaining their guarantees in this popular movement the restructuring and renewal of life and society on the principles of humane and democratic socialism have become irreversible. We can speak of this with confidence.

The formation of a socialist, law-governed state is really taking place in the country. On the whole, the USSR Supreme Soviet, which was elected at the first Congress, has been a powerful and positive factor in this process. The majority of people's deputies are, in one form or another, taking a direct part in its work. The entire country is following attentively the first steps of the new

Soviet parliament. Far from all of its activity is yet being received with approval and praise. There is plenty of justified criticism about it to be heard. For all that, the conclusion is clear: a capable and powerful body of deputies has taken shape here, and new political figures who are original thinkers have joined the country's state life.

The main result of the work of the Supreme Soviet is a number of new important laws and draft laws which will lay a legal basis to the renewal of our social and state systems. The law on leasing has been adopted—while the draft laws on property, on land, on local management and local economy, on pensions and leave, and on the press have been put forward for nationwide discussion. This has been done consciously, comrades. We are speaking of legislative acts which will determine the development of our society for decades ahead. We cannot make a mistake, and for that reason we need to take counsel with the people. We must know their interests and will, and implement them consistently. Popular power is one of the cardinal aims of perestroyka.

But comrades, the sound basis of our actions in these questions must not come into contradiction with the necessity of bringing these powerful accelerators of renewal into use as quickly as possible. We consider it perfectly realistic to adopt these laws as soon as next spring. One of the important guidelines of the policy of perestroyka is the reorientation of the economy towards satisfying the social needs of man and of society as a whole.

In spite of all difficulties in this matter, specific steps are being implemented via the Supreme Soviet and the government, first and foremost concerning the least-well-provided-for strata of the population. However, achieving widescale solutions of the social problems that have accumulated in society is connected with radical transformations of our economy. So far, there has unfortunately not been a tangible advance here. The strain on the consumer market, and in the sphere of finance and material supply, has remained—and in some places even got worse. There are difficulties in the changeover to the new system of management; so far there has not been the return on which we were counting. It is clear to all of us that it is precisely a solution to these questions that our people are expecting from the supreme body of power of the country, and from the government. It is precisely for this reason that the Supreme Soviet recommended to the Congress that it should put the government report on social and economic problems, the speeding up of reform, and the definition of the immediate prospects at the center of its discussion.

Proceeding from this same consideration, the representatives of the deputies' group gave their support for this line of the USSR Supreme Soviet yesterday. Of course other important matters are also being placed on the agenda, but people will judge the Second Congress of People's Deputies primarily by what consideration is given to, and what decisions are taken on, issues relating to improving the economy, reducing the shortages, and improving the day-to-day living conditions of the working people. We will have to listen to and debate proposals from the Union government, and make decisions in this regard proceeding from an understanding of both the urgency of the situation, and the vast potential the country has at its disposal.

Yes, it is difficult in the country at present. We have many economic, social, and ecological problems. But we also have vast forces that can and should be brought into operation through democratization, glasnost, freedom, and the emancipation of the human personality. We all need to understand that even the most reliable and considered decisions will remain mere good wishes if they are not backed everywhere, throughout the country and in all the labor collectives, and are not reinforced by concrete, practical actions. And, of course, we now, more than ever, need to have organization, a business-like approach, discipline, responsibility, and resolute assaults on disorder and poor management. On this, as I understand it, we are all of the same opinion. This being so, we must clearly define at the congress what must be done at this end, from on high to below, and vice versa.

Naturally, labor discipline and responsibility for the task with which one is entrusted should be organizationally linked as one with accelerating the introduction of new forms and methods of economic management, and implementing the idea of economic reform. And, when we say that now, as never before, strong discipline and organization are needed, this is in no way a call to revert to the old methods. It is a call to create the conditions necessary for accelerating the restructuring process.

Last Sunday on the "Seven Days" television program, a worker spoke, saying: I approve of the policy of restructuring. We have no other option, but that policy needs to be more resolutely conducted. This is a very true thought, and it is relevant to everyone who is entrusted with leadership whether in the center or at the local level. Nowadays, when no one can say that laws are made in secret, when they are created by representatives elected by the people and in sight of everyone, they must be strictly binding on everyone, the communist and the nonparty member, the formal and informal organizations, the worker and the manager, the collective farm worker and its chairman, the minister and the people's deputy, and on leaders of all ranks.

A question which many people are asking today is that of how to achieve this. I am convinced that the congress will help to find an answer to it. I am also convinced of something else, too. We need to consolidate society most of all in order to solve all the problems. We have a real basis for this. The overwhelming majority of the people have perceived the concept of perestroyka and the renewal of socialism as their own vital affair. Let us do everything so that the present congress becomes an important stage on the road to consolidating the people in the name of perestroyka, in the name of our socialist goals. In setting about our responsible work, let us constantly remember that a great country of many nationalities is behind us. [applause]

Comrades! Of the 2,245 USSR people's deputies, there are 2,106 present at the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The congress can thus begin its work. The Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies is declared open. [Applause, followed by Soviet Anthem]

Congress Rejects Discussion of Article 6

LD1212121189 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

By a majority of votes the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies today turned down a proposal made by several deputies to discuss Article Six of the Soviet Constitution which seals the Communist Party's leading role in the Soviet political system.

The proposal was rejected by 1,138 deputies, 839 deputies voted for it, and 56 abstained.

The Article Six issue is being widely debated in Soviet society. Many believe that the Soviet Communist Party is the country's only unifying political force and regard it as the guarantor of perestroyka.

Other people, without denying the Communist Party's role, object to the constitutional guarantee of the role. They argue there was no such stipulation in the previous constitutions up to the end of the 1970s.

Undoubtedly, there are also people who would like to edge the Communist Party out of the country's political life.

There were heated discussions during a tentative discussion of the agenda of the Congress in the Supreme Soviet and in the deputies' groups that were busy preparing the Congress.

Most deputies agreed that the Article Six issue was not of a particularly urgent nature.

A similar point of view was also voiced at the recent plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on December 9.

In a report at the plenum, Mikhail Gorbachev said that within the framework of creating a new Constitution, work on which had already been started, any article may be reassessed or excluded.

As the experience of the political reform has shown, the sixth article in itself does not create any obstacles to free elections, he added. Therefore attempts at giving some extraordinary significance to the issue pursue quite different aims.

"Attempts are being made thereby to demoralise Communists, to reduce their activity at the crucial stage of perestroyka and to counterpose the party to the working people," Gorbachev emphasised.

The Congress also turned down proposals that constitutional provisions concerning property, land, the separation of powers between the republics and the union, and some other provisions be reconsidered by the Congress.

The discussion of the agenda of the Congress, which opened this morning, is continuing.

The congress, which is being attended by more than 2,000 people, is the Soviet Union's supreme forum.

Roundup of 12 Dec Congress Proceedings

LD1212150889 Moscow TASS in English 1504 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 12 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies opened at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on Tuesday, attended by more than 2,100 deputies and a large number of guests.

Opening the congress, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that it should focus on decisions to facilitate economic revitalisation and the successful development of economic reform.

The deputies elected a working presidium, consisting of the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, his first deputy and deputies from all union republics. A secretariat was also elected.

For the first time votes are being counted on electronic equipment provided by the Philips firm. However either because of deputies who did not know how to handle it or by a technical malfunction, votes in one row had to be counted by hand during the morning session.

The Congress has made little progress on the first day with the deputies still discussing the agenda. Proposals by the Supreme Soviet to include the report of the credentials commission on the powers of newly elected deputies and the government's report on measures to revitalise the economy met with no objections.

But the third issue, on amending the constitution's articles dealing with elections to republican and local bodies of power, triggered many proposals. All of them related to other articles, primarily the sixth which enshrines the Soviet Communist Party's leading role in the Soviet political system.

Those who favoured putting the discussion of this article on the agenda said that Article Six hampered changes in the Soviet political system. opponents argued that Article six should not be regarded separately from other provisions of the Basic Law which also need revision.

Summing up the debate, Gorbachev said he opposed hasty discussion of the problem and political speculation around it. All the changes to the Basic Law should be made in the framework of the normal constitutional process. The Soviet Communist Party's (CPSU) position in Soviet society does not rest on this article which, incidentally, was missing from the three previous constitutions, the Soviet president stressed.

The perestroika process showed that the CPSU is a mature party capable of taking a critical view of itself and answering for the policy offered to it, Gorbachev noted. It generates the policy which Soviet society expouses at the current historical stage.

At the same time the president noted that the party still has a lot to do in order to successfully fulfil the functions of political vanguard of society and enjoy complete support. The Soviet Communist Party must be the first to restructure itself, before other mass and state institutions.

By a majority of votes the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies turned down a proposal to discuss Article Six of the Soviet Constitution.

Proposals were also made that the congress change the provisions of the Basic Law which run counter to bills on ownership and land, approved by the Soviet Parliament in the first reading. During the debate some deputies also opposed making amendments before the completion of public discussion. As a result, the move to discuss amendments was turned down by the majority of deputies.

On whether to put a bill regulating the rights of deputies of soviets at all levels on the agenda or not, the congress decided to consider a separate bill on the status of USSR people's deputies.

At the evening session the discussion of the agenda will continue. It was initially planned that Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov would report on measures to revitalise the economy. It is now hard to say how long the debate on the agenda will take.

Supreme Soviet

Gorbachev Chairs Discussion of People's Congress

PM1212112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session was held in the Kremlin 11 December under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Questions of the organization of the work of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies were examined at the session. Proposals connected with the agenda and the order of work at the Second Congress were discussed and forwarded for consideration to a meeting of representatives of groups of USSR people's deputies.

The results of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission on Preparations for the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies were summed up. A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the commission and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, delivered a report on this question.

The question of the international Lenin Peace Prize was examined in accordance with the report of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs delivered by A.S. Dzasokhov. The prize's new status and a statute on the Committee for International Lenin Peace Prizes were approved.

In accordance with a USSR Supreme Soviet instruction, the procedure for applying the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution "On an Amnesty for Former Servicemen of the Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan Who Committed Crimes" was approved. Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, delivered a report on this question.

Other questions of state life were examined at the session.

USSR, Republic Legislation on Leasing

904A0089A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 89 Second Edition p 3

[Supreme Soviet Resolution "Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation," dated 23 November]

[Text]

Section I. Leasing

General Provisions on Leasing

Article 1. **Leasing**

Leasing is the possession and use on a compensatory basis for a period of time, based on an agreement, of land, other natural resources, enterprises (associations), and other complexes of assets needed by the lessee for the independent realization of economic or other activity.

Article 2. **Legislation on Leasing**

Leasing relationships are regulated by these Foundations and legislative acts of the USSR and union republics promulgated in accordance with them and also, in instances so envisaged, by resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers and the councils of ministers of the union republics.

Article 3. **Sphere of Leasing, Leasing Entities**

Leasing is permitted in all branches of the national economy and can be applied with respect to assets of all forms and varieties of ownership.

The following may be leased:

a) land and other natural resources;
b) enterprises (associations), organizations, structural units of associations, production units, shops, other subunits of enterprises and organizations as unified complexes of production assets and other effects;
c) individual buildings, structures, equipment, means of transportation, inventories, instrumentation, other material effects;

USSR and union-republic legislation establishes the types (groups) of enterprises (associations) and organizations, and the types of assets not permitted to be leased.

Article 4. **Lessors**

The right to lease assets belongs to an owner, including foreign corporate persons and citizens. Lessors may also be comprised of organs and organizations authorized by an owner to lease assets. State enterprises and organizations have the right to lease complexes of assets, separate buildings, structures, equipment, and other material valuables within their entire managerial jurisdiction or operational control. Land is leased by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies.

Article 5. **Lessees**

Lessees may comprise Soviet corporate persons and citizens of the USSR, joint enterprises, international associations and organizations with the participation of Soviet and foreign corporate persons, and also foreign states, international organizations, foreign corporate persons and citizens.

Article 6. **Lessee Associations**

Lessees have the right, on voluntary principles, to form associations, unions, consortiums, concerns, and other associations, to finance their activity and freely detach from them according to adopted statutes. These associations may include any collectives and citizens, regardless of the forms of ownership in effect for their production. For their part, the lessees have the right to join any associations, provided the associations agree to such entry.

Article 7. **The Lease Agreement**

1. The basic document regulating the relationship between lessor and lessee is the lease agreement. This agreement is concluded on a voluntary basis, with full equality of rights by both parties.

2. The lease agreement provides for: Composition and cost of assets to be leased, amount of the lease payment, term of lease, assignment of responsibility to the parties for complete restoration and repair of leased assets, lessor responsibility to provide the assets to the lessee in a condition which meets the terms of the agreement, lessee responsibility to use the assets in accordance with terms of the agreement, to make the lease payments and return the assets to the lessor after expiration of the agreement in the condition provided for in the agreement.

3. The lease agreement may include lessor responsibilities regarding material-technical supply, assistance in production development, introduction of scientific-technical achievements and progressive technology, technical production retooling, social development, provision of information, consultative, and other assistance, facilitation of cadre training, establishment of the necessary conditions for effective use of the leased assets and maintaining them in proper condition.

4. The cost of leased assets is determined in the agreement based on an appraisal of the assets the moment they go into lease, taking actual wear and tear into account. The term of service for the assets to be leased is established by agreement of the parties, but will not be greater than a complete, new depreciation period, according to depreciation standards in effect.

5. The lessee has the right, with the consent of the lessor, to sublet assets received in accordance with the agreement, except in instances as provided for in USSR and union-republic legislative acts.

6. The parties bear responsibility, as established by USSR and union-republic legislation and by the agreement, for failure to properly execute the obligations of the lease agreement, including its unilateral amendment or abrogation.

When a state organ leasing the assets of a state enterprise (structural unit of an association) has insufficient resources as a whole, responsibility with regard to the obligations of this organ to the lessee is borne by the owner of the applicable assets.

Article 8. **Lease Payment**

The lease payment includes depreciation deductions from the cost of the leased property. Depreciation deductions do not apply in the leasing of land and other natural resources. The amount of depreciation deductions included in the lease payment is determined in the lease agreement based on the distribution of obligations between the parties on the reproduction of leased assets as stated in the agreement. The lease payment may also include funds provided by the lessee to the lessor for repair of entities upon expiration of the term of lease. The lease payment includes a portion of the proceeds (profits) which may be received from the socially required use of the leased assets (lease interest), as established in the agreement on a level not lower, as a rule, than the bank rate of interest.

2. The lease payment may be established for all the leased assets taken together, or separately by entity, as payment in kind, monetary payment, or a combination

thereof. Conditions and deadlines regarding lease payment deposits and accounts to which they are transferred are determined by the agreement.

3. The amount of lease payment may change upon agreement of the parties for periods of time as provided in the agreement, but not more frequently than once in five years. It may be reconsidered prior to term expiration at the request of one of the parties in the event of changes in established centralized prices and rates, and in other instances as envisaged in USSR and union-republic legislative acts.

Article 9. **Ownership in the Leasing Arrangement**

1. The leasing of assets does not entail a transfer of the right of ownership of the assets.

Production and the profits obtained by the lessee as a result of the use of leased assets are his property. The lessee also owns material and other effects not comprised among the leased assets which he has received or acquired on the basis of law.

2. Unless otherwise provided in the lease agreement, separable improvements in the leased assets which have been accomplished by the lessee belong to him. In the event the lessee has used his own funds, with the permission of the lessor, to make improvements not separable from the leased assets without detriment (reconstruction of a building or structure, equipment replacement, etc.), he has the right, upon expiration of the lease agreement, to compensation for the cost of these improvements to the extent this is not otherwise provided for in the agreement.

With respect to the leasing of enterprises and other integral complexes of assets, the lessee has the right to compensation for the cost of non-separable improvements he has made to the leased assets with his own funds, regardless of lessor permission for such improvements, unless otherwise provided for in the agreement.

3. Improvements (both separable and non-separable) made using depreciation deductions for the leased assets belong to the lessor, and they augment the residual cost of the leased assets.

4. If the condition of the assets returned upon expiration of the agreement is worse than what was stipulated, the lessee provides compensation for the damages to the lessor in accordance with existing legislation.

5. If the leased assets are put out of commission prior to expiration of the full-depreciation period of service, the lessee provides compensation to the lessor for the amount of lease payment he has not paid, and also for other incurred damages, in accordance with existing legislation. If the lessee ensures use of the leased assets following expiration of their term of service as provided in the agreement, the lessor pays the lessee an appropriate compensation, unless otherwise provided for in the agreement.

Article 10. **Redemption of Leased Assets**

1. The lessee may redeem the leased assets either fully or in part. Terms, procedures, and deadlines for redemption are determined by the lease agreement. Disputes on these matters are resolved by state arbitration or by court.

Cases in which redemption of leased assets is restricted or prohibited may be stipulated in USSR or union-republic legislation.

Redemption is accomplished by virtue of the lessee paying the lessor all of the lease payment due him from the cost of the leased property based on its full term of depreciation, and also by providing him compensation with lease payments from the residual cost of the assets, whose lease according to the agreement is terminated prior to expiration of the depreciation period. Redemption sources may consist of any funds available to the leasing enterprise in accordance with the law.

Article 11. **Determination of the Purposes of the Lessee's Economic Activity**

In accordance with the lease agreement, the lessee independently determines the direction in which his economic activity is to proceed and independently disposes of his production output and profits obtained.

The lessee is completely free in his economic activity, outside the limits of his lease-agreement obligations.

Article 12. **Lease Duration**

The lease duration is determined by the agreement. In this regard, the lease of land, other natural resources, enterprises, buildings, and structures must be, as a rule, of a long-term nature—for a period of at least 5 years. A lease agreement may be of short duration—less than 5 years—in consideration of the nature of the assets and purposes of the lease.

Article 13. **Amendment, Abrogation, Termination, and Extension of the Agreement**

1. Amendment of the terms of the lease agreement, its abrogation and termination are permitted upon consent of the parties. Upon the demand of one of the parties, the lease agreement may be abrogated by decision of state arbitration or by a court in instances where the terms of the agreement are violated by the other party.

2. Reorganization of a lessor organization or change of owner of the leased assets may not serve as the basis for a change in the terms of the agreement or its abrogation.

3. Upon expiration of the term of the agreement, the lessee has the right to renew the agreement.

4. In the absence of a declaration by one of the parties on terminating or amending the agreement, it is considered upon expiration to be extended for the same duration and under the same conditions as were stipulated in the

agreement. In extending an agreement for a new term, conditions of the agreement may be amended upon consent of the parties.

5. In termination of an agreement with a lessee citizen, members of the citizen's family and people who lived and worked with him have preferential right to conclusion of a lease agreement.

In the event a lessee dies, his lease-agreement rights are transferred to a member of his family who lived and worked with him, if that person consents to become the lessee.

The lessor has no right to deny such a person entry into an agreement for the term remaining in the present agreement, with the exception of cases in which conclusion of the agreement was conditioned by the personal qualities of the lessee.

Article 14. **Examination of Disputes During the Term of the Lease Agreement**

Disputes which arise during the term of the lease agreement are examined by state arbitration or by a court, in accordance with their competence.

Article 15. **Protection of Lessee Property Rights**

1. The lessee is guaranteed protection of his right to the assets he has received according to the lease agreement on a level with the protection established by civil law with respect to the right of ownership. He may demand the return of the leased assets from any illegal possession, removal of obstacles regarding its use, and compensation for damages incurred with respect to the assets by any individuals, including the lessor.

2. The use of leased assets for collecting on obligations of the lessor is not permitted.

3. Assets of the lessee may be withdrawn from him only pursuant to state arbitration or by a court.

4. The terms of the lease agreement remain in force over the entire effective duration of the agreement, even in instances where, following its conclusion, regulations are established by law which deteriorate the situation of the lessee.

Lease of Enterprises (Associations)

Article 16. **Creation of a Leased Enterprise**

1. The labor collective of a state enterprise (association) or of the structural effect of an association (henceforth a state enterprise) has the right to form an organization of lessees as an independent corporate person for the establishment of a leased enterprise based on it.

The decision to form an organization of lessees and its management organs is made by a general meeting (conference) of the labor collective upon at least a two-thirds vote of its members.

The organization of lessees draws up the draft lease agreement jointly with the trade union committee and submits it to the state organ authorized by the owner to lease state enterprises. This organ is obliged to examine the draft agreement within 30 days of receiving it. Disagreements arising while concluding the lease agreement, including those related to groundless refusal to lease the enterprise and examination of the proposal beyond the time limit, are taken under consideration by state arbitration.

After signing the agreement, the organization of lessees obtains the assets of the enterprise through established procedure and acquires the status of leased enterprise.

2. A leased enterprise operates on the basis of regulations adopted by a general meeting (conference) of its labor collective. The leased enterprise acquires the right of corporate person from the day of its state registration in the executive committee of the rayon, city, or rayon-in-city council of people's deputies, according to location of the leased enterprise.

3. Upon application, the leased enterprise may retain the designation and government awards of a state enterprise leased by it, by decision of the applicable state organs.

4. The leased enterprise becomes the legal successor to the ownership rights and obligations of the state enterprise it has taken, to include its rights regarding the use of land and other natural resources. The lessor may pay off enterprise debts with creditors fully or in part.

Obligations of a state enterprise to accomplish volume production (work, services) and deadlines stipulated in agreements of the enterprise are fulfilled by the lessee. The lessor provides the lessee with material resources or limits (funds) on them and takes other necessary measures to ensure fulfillment of these obligations.

The leased enterprise retains the right to centralized capital investments and subsidies in the amounts established for a leased state enterprise.

A leased enterprise acquires the rights and obligations of a leased state enterprise regarding participation in the socio-economic development of the territory in which it is located.

The lease agreement determines the mutual relationship between lessee and lessor regarding conditions of use of fuel and raw material supplies, material resources, unfinished production, ready-made products, distribution of the balance of economic incentive funds, use of departmental space and its financing, and the use of funds obtained to pay off debts.

5. Coercion to lease facilities superfluous to leasing enterprises is not permitted.

6. In order to establish equal initial premises of effective management for all socialist enterprises, the state does its utmost to facilitate the development of lease relationships and effect the leasing of state enterprises.

Article 17. **Management of the Leased Enterprise**

Management of a leased enterprise is accomplished in accordance with its regulations on the basis of the principle of socialist self-management, broad democracy, openness, and the participation of each member of the labor collective in resolving all issues of its activity.

Article 18. **Economic Activity of the Leased Enterprise**

1. A leased enterprise constructs its operation as a socialist commodity producer. It has the right to sell, exchange, sublet, afford free use on a temporary basis, or loan material effects included in the leased assets, if such transfer of assets does not entail a reduction in the economic-production potential (value) of the enterprise and does not violate other conditions stipulated in the lease agreement. This procedure of handling leased assets does not apply with regard to land and other natural entities, or in other instances as stipulated in legislative acts.

A leased enterprise has the right to independently effect changes in the composition of the leased assets, to accomplish reconstruction, expansion, or technical retooling which increase their value, unless otherwise stipulated in the agreement.

2. A leased enterprise ensures effective utilization and reproduction of natural resources, and uses them in accordance with the purposes for which they were offered. It is obligated to protect the surrounding environment from pollution and other harmful effects.

3. A leased enterprise engages in external economic activity according to the procedures established for state enterprises.

4. A leased enterprise is obliged by the lease agreement to comply with state requisitions and production orders (work, services) using its established economic ties in a volume not in excess of similar orders and requisitions effected for the year in which it was leased.

To the degree that such an enterprise uses assets related to its collective property, it undertakes state requisitions and other obligations with regard to output and production on a voluntary basis.

The lessor may undertake the obligation of acquiring production the lessee has accomplished.

5. The leased enterprise sells its production (work, services) at wholesale, purchase, retail, and contract prices, as provided for state enterprises. Materials, raw materials, and other material-technical resources are acquired by the leased enterprise in accordance with existing wholesale, purchase, retail, and contract prices, by procedure and under conditions as established for state enterprises.

6. A leased enterprise may be granted subsidies for production expansion and accomplishment of social tasks from state centralized capital investments and lessor funds. It may also receive credits and advances with the obligation of augmenting its production and increasing production quality (work, services).

A lessor may extend preferential lease-payment terms to lessees of state enterprises operating at a loss or low profitability.

7. A leased enterprise accomplishes accounting for the results of his activity, effects bookkeeping, and maintains statistical records in a manner as prescribed by the state for cooperatives. The activity of a leased enterprise is supervised according to the same procedure as applies to cooperatives, taking into account the particulars of the lease relationship.

Article 19. **Leased Enterprise Finances**

1. The financial resources of a leased enterprise are formed with the proceeds realized from production (work, services), credits, money obtained from the sale of securities, donations, and other financial means.

2. Material and other similar expenditures, as well as labor remuneration expenses are refunded from the proceeds received by the leased enterprise; taxes, lease payments, insurance payments, payment for natural and labor resources are made and interest is paid on credits from these proceeds. The remaining receipts are entirely at the disposal of the leased enterprise. The enterprise independently determines the uses of these proceeds.

3. A leased enterprise may issue securities and effect special-purpose loans in order to mobilize additional financial resources through procedure established by existing legislation; it may operate on the securities market.

Members of the labor collective of a leased enterprise have preferential right to acquire securities.

4. A leased enterprise may extend credit to other enterprises and organizations with its own funds under conditions determined by agreement of the parties, including agreement on the interest rate for its use.

5. Funds may be written off the accounts of a leased enterprise exclusively at its direction or upon decision of state arbitration or a court. Incontestable write-off of funds from the accounts of a leased enterprise is permitted only in instances as prescribed by legislation. When a leased enterprise does not agree with the incontestable write-off of funds, it has the right to file suit with state arbitration to recoup the amount of unduly written off funds.

Article 20. **Labor and Wages**

1. Labor relations of members of the labor collective of a leased enterprise are regulated by labor legislation, taking into account the particular provisions established in these Fundamentals.

2. A leased enterprise independently determines the procedures for hiring and discharging workers, the forms and systems of paying wages, the working day routine, and the shift system for the work. It independently makes decisions on the introduction of aggregated accounting of work time and establishes procedure for granting days off and vacation.

The leased enterprise independently determines the duration of annual paid leave. In this regard, such duration cannot be less than that established for similar categories of workers and other employees of state enterprises.

3. The state guarantees the utmost social protection of the interests of workers of leased enterprises in accordance with existing law.

Workers discharged in connection with the leasing of a state enterprise, lessors, and the applicable local soviets of people's deputies are guaranteed rights as stipulated in existing legislation for workers who are released during the reorganization or liquidation of a state enterprise.

4. A leased enterprise deducts payments from its proceeds to be deposited to the state social security fund in a manner and amount as prescribed by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 21. **Leased Enterprise Ownership**

1. A leased enterprise owns its production output, proceeds received, and other assets acquired through the use of its funds.

2. The amount of contributions made by members of the labor collective of a leased enterprise for the creation of assets owned by the enterprise, pursuant to terms and procedures as stated in its regulations, is determined by virtue of their individual labor participation, and by fees and other asset contributions.

3. Securities may be issued for the value of a labor collective member's contribution to the assets of a leased enterprise in accordance with enterprise regulations.

Dividends are paid for the above-mentioned securities of labor collective members in amounts as determined by the labor collective, based on final production results and the tasks of development of the enterprise. The real cost of the securities is paid to their bearers in instances as stipulated in enterprise regulations.

Enterprise regulations determine the procedure and terms for paying dividends to members of the labor collective who have terminated their labor relations with it.

Article 22. **Establishment of a Leased Enterprise Based on the Assets of a Subunit of a State Enterprise (Association)**

A leased enterprise may be established on the basis of lease of assets of production works, shops, departments, farms, or other subunits of state enterprises (associations). Establishment of such a leased enterprise is accomplished with the consent of the applicable state enterprise (association). Here the lease agreement is concluded with the state enterprise (association), a portion of whose assets are leased.

Article 23. **Competition for the Lease of Enterprises (Associations) and Their Asset Complexes**

1. A state enterprise (association) or its subunits may be leased under competitive procedure.

The competition is announced by the state organ which has the right to lease applicable assets.

2. Competition may involve the participation of labor collectives of state enterprises (associations) or their subunits, mixed collectives including workers not employed at the given enterprise or association (subunit), or groups of citizens who have joined in a collective with the purpose of leasing the applicable enterprise or association (subunit). To participate in the competition, above-mentioned collectives form organizations of lessees according to procedure as stipulated in Point 1, Article 16 of these Fundamentals. The competition may involve the participation of other state enterprises (associations), as well as cooperatives and social organizations.

3. Other conditions being equal, the labor collectives of a state enterprise or its subunits have preferential right to obtaining its lease. The lessor and organs representing him during examination of lessee proposals submitted in competition give preference to those who guarantee the highest effectiveness of production, who will lease the greatest portion of assets offered, and who commit themselves to pay increased lease payment shares.

A lessee organization formed under competition concludes a lease agreement with the lessor and functions as a leased enterprise according to procedure and terms as stated in articles 16-21 of these Fundamentals.

Article 24. **Establishment of Leased Enterprises Based on Assets Belonging to Social Organizations**

Social organizations have the right to lease their enterprises and their subunits under conditions determined by these organizations. Here the social organizations may apply the principles set forth in this chapter in determining establishment procedures and operating conditions for the leased enterprises.

Article 25. **Lease of a State Enterprise (Association) or Its Subunit by a Cooperative**

When a state enterprise or subunit of it is leased to a cooperative, lease relationships are established with the state organ empowered to lease enterprises, or with the appropriate state enterprise. The terms of agreement with the cooperative are determined in accordance with Point four, Article 16 and with Article 18 of these Fundamentals.

Lease of Assets by Citizens

Article 26. **Individual and Group Leasing**

1. A citizen or group of citizens may lease means of production and other assets required to conduct economic activity.

2. Persons engaged in labor activity under conditions of individual or group leasing are eligible for social security and welfare benefits on a par with workers and other employees. Lessees make deductions from their proceeds and make deposits to the state social security fund according to procedure and in the amount as established by the USSR Council of Ministers. The work period during which social security contributions are made is included in the length of service.

Article 27. **Economic Activity in Individual and Group Leasing**

1. Lessees in individual or group leasing arrangements independently dispose of their production output and sell it in any region of the country. They accomplish work and provide services according to prices and rates established by agreement with the consumer or independently. They may voluntarily undertake to fulfill state orders and requisitions and sell their output resulting from such requisitions at wholesale, purchase, or contract prices.

2. The lessee has the right, upon consent of the lessor, to construct on the leased land segment the necessary premises for production and non-production use, to include living quarters, while observing general building regulations.

Buildings and structures erected by the lessee on the leased land segment using his own and borrowed funds comprise his property, unless otherwise provided for in the lease agreement.

3. Proceeds from the sale of production (work, services) after effecting the lease payment, taxes, and bank loan payments are disposed of by the lessee independently.

4. Material-technical supply, transportation, repair, and other types of services for lessees in the agricultural sphere are accomplished on the basis of agreements concluded according to the procedure and terms established for kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms].

5. With respect to the conduct of production activity, peasant and other labor-based farms may enter into cooperative ties with kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other state, cooperative, and social organizations; they may establish supply and sales cooperatives, processing, repair, building, and other cooperatives, as well as economic partnerships.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of their activity and ensure protection of their legal rights and interests, peasant and other labor-based farms may join into unions on a strictly voluntary basis.

Article 28. **Bank Accounts, Credit**

1. The lessee has the right to open up an account at banking institutions for his financial operations. He has the right to independently choose a bank for his credit-accounting operations.

2. Lessees may obtain, under conditions agreed upon with the banking institution or lessor, short- and long-term loans for production development. A competitive system of affording credits may be used in this regard.

3. Local soviets of people's deputies may allocate to lessees start-up and initial procurement funds, funds for production development, land reclamation, and road and housing construction, on a reimbursable or non-reimbursable basis.

Section II. Intra-Concern Contract Leasing

Article 29. **Application of Intra-Concern Contract Leasing**

1. Intra-concern contract leasing, as a form of organization and payment of wages of individual workers, collectives of subunits, and groups of workers (later—lease collectives), can be applied at state, collective, and social enterprises.

2. Upon agreement with the trade union committee, an enterprise establishes the state of intra-concern contract leasing, intra-concern calculated prices and rates for production (work, services), forms of accounting for material and other expenditures by leasing collectives.

3. Leasing collectives of a state enterprise independently determine forms and systems of labor remuneration, working-day routine, and work shift procedure. They make independent decisions on the introduction of aggregate accounting of work time and establish procedures for granting days off, without violating the required operational coordination among various subunits of the enterprise.

New workers are enrolled into the leasing collective upon consent of the collective.

4. A contract leasing agreement in the agricultural sphere may provide for the right of the leasing collective to conclude labor contracts for specific work, in the name of the enterprise, with citizens who are not members of the leasing collective. These citizens will receive wages out of the funds designated for payment of wages to members of the leasing collective.

Article 30. **Organization of the Economic Activity of the Leasing Collective**

1. In accordance with the contract leasing agreement, a leasing collective accepts the obligation to effect production (work, services) as provided by the agreement, and to deliver it to the enterprise or sell it to other enterprises or citizens, at the enterprise's direction.

The leasing collective has the right to dispose, at its own discretion, of production (work, services) accomplished above the volume provided for in the agreement, unless otherwise established by legislation or agreement.

2. In contract leasing, an enterprise effects its accounting with the treasury, bank, and higher organ through procedure established according to the results of the enterprise's activity as a whole. It retains for itself the functions of planning the basic assortment and production volume (work, services), exercises a unified technological policy, conducts retooling and reconstruction according to the overall plans of the enterprise, and develops the social sphere.

The production program is formed independently by the leasing collective, taking into account the obligations stipulated in the contract lease agreement.

3. The contract lease agreement determines the extent and procedures for participation of the leasing collective in expenditures and payments of the enterprise, including expenditures for the development of production and science and technology, and for social needs.

4. The contract lease agreement determines responsibility of the parties for failure to properly fulfill agreement obligations.

5. An enterprise may extend to the leasing collective of a subunit the right to conclude economic contracts in the name of the enterprise. Such a leasing collective has the right to open an account in a banking institution. The leasing collective bears responsibility in contracts to the extent of the assets it is assigned. When the assets are insufficient, responsibility regarding the obligations of the leasing collective is borne by the enterprise.

6. Sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises may, on contractual principles, extend to leasing collectives of subunits the right to independently sell their production (work, services) and use the proceeds received for payment of wages and taxes, payments to the treasury, and social security payments. Such leasing collectives may open up an account in a banking institution or finance clearing facility.

7. For intra-concern leasing, the lessor may extend to the lessee advantages of various kinds.

Article 31. **The Lease Payment in Contract Leasing**

1. Payment for the use of assets assigned the leasing collective (lease payment) is determined in the contract leasing agreement. In the event of a change in prices or other economic conditions, the amount of the lease payment may be reexamined upon agreement of the parties.

2. If insurance for crops, livestock, and other leased assets is provided by the enterprise and the leasing collective has not obtained the production volume stated in the agreement as a result of disaster or other instances covered by insurance, the lease payment is reduced proportionally by the amount of insurance compensation received by the enterprise.

The leasing collective has the right, with agreement of the enterprise, to conclude contracts in its name for insuring crops, livestock, and other assets. In such event, the amount of the lease payment is not reconsidered following a disaster or other instance covered by insurance.

Article 32. **Profits of the Leasing Collective**

1. Profits of the leasing collective are formed from proceeds, after the lease payment is made, compensation paid for material losses, and other deductions effected as stipulated in the agreement. Revenues which remain with the leasing collective are used independently by it and are not subject to confiscation.

2. Procedure for regulating the amount of funds to be used for paying wages is determined by the contract leasing agreement.

Article 33. **Guarantee of the Rights of the Leasing Collective**

1. Confiscation by an enterprise of the assets assigned a leasing collective in conjunction with a contract leasing agreement is not permitted.

2. Amendment or abrogation of a contract leasing agreement prior to term expiration is permitted only upon mutual consent of the leasing collective and enterprise.

3. Disputes between a leasing collective and the enterprise arising in connection with the execution, abrogation, and amendment of a contract leasing agreement are resolved through procedure as stipulated by USSR and union-republic legislation on labor.
Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
M.S. Gorbachev
Moscow, the Kremlin, 23 November 1989.

Procedure for Implementing Legislation

*PM1112142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1*

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on the Procedure for Putting into Effect the Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Leaseholding—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. The Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Leaseholding will come into effect as from 1 January 1990.

2. Union republic supreme soviet presidiums will be advised to ensure the adoption of legislative acts on leaseholding, taking account of national, regional, and other special features, prior to 1 January 1990.

3. The USSR Council of Ministers will be instructed:

to approve temporary provisions on leaseholding enterprises' payments into the budget before 1 January 1990;

to submit a draft legislative act on the taxation of leaseholding enterprises to the USSR Supreme Soviet before 1 February 1990;

to define before 1 January 1990 types (groups) of enterprises (associations) under union jurisdiction and types of property whose leasing is not permittted, and also to make provision for cases in which buying up of leased property is restricted or prohibited;

to bring USSR Government decisions in line with the Fundamental Principles of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Leaseholding before 1 January 1990;

to ensure the review and revocation by USSR ministries, state committees, and departments of their enforceable enactments, including instructions, which are at variance with the aforementioned Fundamental Principles before 1 January 1990;

4. As of 1 January 1990 the following are to be regarded as invalid:

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 7 April 1989 "On Leasing and Leasing Relations in the USSR," excluding Article 18, (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1989, No 15, p 105);

The USSR Law of 31 July 1989 "On the Ratification of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees on Amendments and Additions to USSR Legislative Acts" (VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1989, No 9, p 202) pertaining to the ratification and amendment of the said Decree (excluding Article 18 of the said Decree).

5. Lessees who have switched to leaseholding relations prior to the coming into effect of the present Fundamental Principles are authorized to conduct their economic activities in accordance with leasing contracts concluded before 31 December 1990.

6. Prior to the adoption and putting into effect of the USSR Law "On Ownership in the USSR" contracts on leasing state enterprises (associations), organizations, and structural units of associations are to be concluded by state organs authorized to do so by USSR and union republic councils of ministers.

7. Executive organs of state power at the center, in republics, and at local level are to be instructed to render all-around assistance in switching state enterprises to leaseholding. All the measures necessary to explain the advantages of leaseholding, prepare for it, and ensure its widespread application in 1990 are to be adopted.

8. The USSR and union republic councils of ministers are instructed to ensure the full employment of workers released from enterprises (organizations) as a result of their switch to leaseholding, and where necessary to organize their retraining or further training.

M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 23 November 1989

Deputies Submit Property Law Proposals

PM1112133589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Second Edition p 3

["Draft Law Proposals"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet decision on submitting the draft Law on Property Ownership in the USSR for nationwide discussion, we publish proposals submitted by a group of USSR people's deputies in respect of Articles 23-25 of the draft Law.

Article 23. **Procedure for land and other natural resources use and management**

1. The land, its mineral wealth, forests, waters, and the natural resources of the continental shelf which are the property of a union republic are made available for use in return for payment, unless another provision is made in the union republic legislation.

2. Ownership powers as regards land management belong to the rayon (city) soviet of people's deputies. The procedure for the use of land and other natural resources located on the territory of an autonomous republic, oblast, or okrug is subject to coordination with the organs of power of this republic, oblast, or okrug.

3. A union republic makes available to the USSR free of charge natural assets without the right of use for economic purposes for the deployment of the Armed Forces and defense installations, border troops and installations intended for the defense of the border, all-union state institutions and other organizations funded from the union budget, and also natural assets with the right of use for economic purposes, such as the siting of all-union transport enterprises, major pipelines, power transmission lines, and unionwide communication lines.,

Natural assets to be used for other purposes are made available to the USSR on the basis of contracts concluded between the union republic and the USSR.

4. In exercising its ownership rights in respect of natural assets a union republic is not entitled to take steps which would damage the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the USSR and other union republics or hamper the satisfaction of statewide or interrepublic requirements, or the country's defense and security needs.

Article 24. **All-Union Ownership**

All-union property is created by union republics' payments into the union budget and their property made available for management by the USSR under intergovernmental agreements.

All-Union property is made up of any property (fixed and circulating capital of enterprises and organizations; sea, railroad, and air transport; lines of communication; major pipelines; the property of the USSR Armed Forces and defense installations; nationwide cultural and historical assets; all-union reserve, insurance, and other funds; union budget resources; the USSR State Bank, other USSR banks; and other facilities) needed for the joint excercise by the union republics of powers enshrined in the USSR Constitution.

Article 25. **Republic Ownership**

Item 1. of Article 25 to read as follows:

The property of a union republic is made up of its land, its mineral wealth, forests, waters, and fauna located on the territory of the republic; the natural resources of the continental shelf adjoining its territory; enterprises and republic economy complexes in industry, construction, and agriculture; transport; the cultural and historical assets of the people of the union republic; republic budget resources; union republic banks and other property which ensures the republic's sovereignty and economic autonomy and its economic and social development.

Supreme Soviet Resolution on Ecology

PM1112145989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Dec 89 Second Edition pp 1, 3

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Urgent Measures To Promote the Country's Ecological Recovery"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet notes that an alarming and in places critical ecological situation has developed in the country. Despite the measures being adopted, work to promote the country's ecological recovery is not proceeding satisfactorily.

The situation in the Aral Sea region has virtually passed beyond human control. The Aral region has become an ecological disaster zone. The situation remains strained in the regions affected by the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station accident. The population's concern is intensifying in the region of the Semipalatinsk nuclear weapon test range. Kalmykia, the Dnepr region, the Dnestr region, the Donbass, the Urals, the Kuzbass, the basins of the Volga, of the Sevan, Issyk-Kul, Balkhash, and Ladoga lakes, and the Black, Azov, Caspian, and Baltic Seas, and a number of other regions are on the brink of ecological crisis. The implementation of nature conservation measures in the Baykal, Ob, and Amur basins needs to be accelerated.

In 103 cities with a total population of some 50 million, the concentration of noxious substances in the air is 10 or more times above the permitted limits. The volume of toxic industrial waste is increasing, and a large proportion of it is taken to dumps for solid household waste. The condition of two-thirds of water sources does not comply with normatives, and there is dangerous pollution of underground waters. In 600 cities the purification of effluent is not up to standard. The proportion of output produced by low-waste techniques is low. Millions of hectares of once fertile land have been taken out of the agricultural rotation because of mining operations, erosion, a rise in the water table, salination, and desertification. Some food products are dangerous to use for human consumption because of their saturation with pesticides, nitrates, hormones, and radionucleides. The incidence of allergic, cancerous, and other diseases is increasing. The population are not given adequate or prompt information on ecological matters.

The situation is exacerbated by the irresponsible attitude of the leaders of many USSR ministries and departments, union and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, and local soviet executive committees [ispolkoms] toward the execution of nature conservation measures, by the insufficient effectiveness of state management and control of the quality of the environment, by serious blunders in the organization of the rational utilization of natural resources, by the absence of effective economic levers to promote resource- and energy-saving and the lack of real powers for local soviets to control the utilization of natural resources, and by errors in the siting of the country's production forces.

The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. The USSR Council of Ministers, Councils of Ministers of union and autonomous republics, and USSR ministries and departments are to define measures for granting urgent assistance to ecological disaster regions and to incorporate these measures in state plans for the social and economic development of the country and of union and autonomous republics for the coming 5-year plan period.

It is necessary to elaborate and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet for the 1990 spring session after nationwide discussion a draft long-term State Plan for Environmental Conservation and Rational Utilization of the USSR's Natural Resources in the 13th 5-year Plan and in the Period up to 2005, with a view, in particular, to:

envisaging in 1990-1995 the improvement of the state of the environment in cities and population centers where the level of air pollution far exceeds the maximum permitted concentrations so that it complies with the prescribed standards; examining questions connected with residence in health-protection zones around ecologically dangerous enterprises and production facilities;

bringing the quality of drinking water and foodstuffs into line with health standards in 1991-1995;

significantly increasing the volume of scientific research and development work on the creation of ecologically clean, low-waste technology and products and also on the solution of other nature conservation problems. The requisite financial and material resources are to be made available for this;

embarking in 1990 on the implementation of a program to set up automatic environmental monitoring systems involving the use of aerial and space facilities, among other things. The production of measuring apparatus for these purposes is to be organized;

making extensive use of the intellectual and production potential of defense sectors to radically alter the ecological situation in the country, including a "Conversion For Ecology" section in the program for that purpose.

2. Financing of work on all plans and programs is to start in 1990, provided solely that there have been positive findings by a state commission of ecological experts, whose independence must be guaranteed. In 1990-1991 a state commission of ecological experts is to evaluate earlier state programs for land reclamation and the chemicalization of agriculture and the development of the nuclear energy, chemical, and microbiological industries and others.

In 1990-1991 all existing enterprises, ecologically dangerous facilities, and individual territories are to be given an ecological rating and, in accordance with the results, specific plans are to be made to improve the ecological situation.

Union and autonomous republics' Councils of Ministers, local soviets, and organs of the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment are to take an active part in this work.

3. A permanent government commission is to be set up to identify and implement rational measures to restore the ecological equilibrium in the Aral Sea area. The commission, in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences and with the involvement of foreign scientists and specialists, is to arrange a competition for the elaboration of a concept for the recovery of the Aral Sea and to submit in 1990 concrete proposals on its implementation for consideration by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The USSR Council of Ministers, the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers, the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, and the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers are to step up their monitoring of the implementation of past decisions on the problems of the Aral Sea area.

4. The elaboration of comprehensive state programs for the Russian Federation [RSFSR], the Ukrainian SSR, and Belorussian SSR to eliminate the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station [AES] is to be approved. In the first quarter of 1990 the USSR Council of Ministers is to examine the aforementioned programs, adopt decisions on the matters under its jurisdiction, and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet spring session a single union-republic program on this matter, as well as information on the situation relating to the accident. The plans for the socioeconomic development of the USSR and union republics in the 13th 5-year plan are to envisage a separate allocation of financial and material reasources for this purpose.

The USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry, in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences, is to elaborate and implement a package of additional measures to increase the safety of nuclear reactors operating in the USSR. The USSR State Committee for the Conservation of Nature is to make ecological appraisals of the plans for nuclear electric and thermal power stations and other faciltiies with nuclear power plants that are currently under construction and to make a decision based on the results.

A new version of the State Energy Program is to be elaborated in 1990, taking into account the utilization of nontraditional, ecologically safe sources of energy and the construction of experimental AES's with various types and configurations of nuclear reactors.

5. The USSR Defense Ministry and the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry are to examine the question of halting nuclear tests at the Semipalatinsk site and to submit proposals to the USSR Council of Ministers. In the first quarter of 1990 the USSR Council of Ministers is to approve the requisite measures.

The USSR Council of Ministers is to examine the question of the effect of nuclear tests at the northern test site (Novaya Zemlya) on adjoining territories.

6. In the first half of 1990 the USSR Council of Ministers is to submit for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet a draft law on nature conservation and, before the end of 1990, a draft law on specially protected natural areas and a draft law on the protection and rational utilization of plants, and also a draft law on the utilization of nuclear energy and nuclear safety. In 1990 the relevant state programs are to be elaborated, envisaging, in particular, halting in 1991 the production of protein vitamin concentrates from petroleum paraffins, the extensive introduction of biological methods of agricultural crop protection, the enhancement of soil fertility, the improvement of land use, and the creation of constantly updated ecological maps of the USSR and the union republics.

The USSR Counbcil of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU] are to adopt in 1990 regulations on health resorts, envisaging measures to protect resort zones of national importance.

7. The USSR Prosecutor's Office is to expand the system of nature conservation prosecutor's offices. The USSR Ministry of Justice and the USSR State Committee for Conservation of Nature are to analyze in 1990 the question of the introduction of the "ecological offense" concept into legislation, envisaging increased liability, even criminal liability, for guilty parties and compulsory compensation for damage caused.

Legal liability and economic sanctions for nature conservation offenses are to be enhanced, compensation is to be envisaged for damage caused by the activity of enterprises, organizations, and individuals, and officials are to be held liable for deliberate concealment or distortion of information about accidents with ecological consequences, the state of people's health, and pollution of the environment.

8. State control is to be made more effective in the sphere of nature conservation and use of natural resources.

Environmental quality control functions are to be clearly defined. The sphere of influence of the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment in terms of monitoring the rational utilization of natural resources is to be enhanced. The Congress of USSR People's Deputies is to be asked to consider in 1990 the question of adding the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment to the list of posts approved by the Congress, in accordance with the USSR Constitution.

9. The USSR Council of Ministers is to examine the question of additional measures to save power and natural resources, above all nonrenewable ones. In the first quarter of 1990 regulations are to be elaborated on a system of economic incentives for state, cooperative, public, and mixed (including those using foreign capital) enterprises and organizations for processing industrial and domestic waste, protecting air, water, and land, improving soil fertility and pasture productivity, producing ecologically clean food products, and reviving and raising rare species that have been entered in the USSR Red Book and union republic Red Books [of endangered species]. It is envisaged that a special tax will be levied on enterprises, associations, and organizations using ecologically dangerous technology and the funds obtained thereby will be used mainly for nature conservation purposes.

10. The USSR State Committee for Protection of the Environment and union republic Councils of Ministers are to elaborate by 1 July 1990 a program to create an all-union system of specially protected natural areas, including resort areas and recreation zones. It is envisaged that the area of reserves and national parks will rise to 2 percent of the country's total land area by 1995 and to 3 percent by 2000, and healthy green zones and protective forest and park belts are to be developed.

It is considered advisable to tackle the question of confiscating land occupied by water-conversation, protective, health and recreation, and other group 1 forests and place it under the jurisdiction of union and autonomous republics' Supreme Soviets. Overfelling in specified felling areas will be prohibited as of 1 January 1991 and felling of cedars will be prohibited, starting in 1990. All forests, except kolkhoz forests, will be placed in the charge of the USSR State Committee for Forestry, which will grant use of them in accordance with leasing arrangements. A State Program of Forest Regeneration is to be elaborated and approved in 1990. A range of urgent measures is to be implemented to improve forest fire prevention.

11. Union and autnomous republics' Supreme Soviets and local soviets are to involve the public more in the solution of ecological problems. The practice of setting up local deputies' groups to monitor observance of legislation on nature conservation and implementation of measures to improve the environment is to be improved.

It is recommended that areas of traditional natural resource exploitation that are exempt from confiscation for industrial development should be allocated to small indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East.

Local soviets are to ensure complete glasnost and accessible and free information on the ecological state of the environment, on all types of pollution, and on the results of ecological inquiries. The population of the country's regions is to be promptly informed of dangerous accidents and situations.

The establishment of the "Ecology" publishing house and publication of an all-union weekly ecology newspaper are to be accelerated.

12. The USSR Council of Ministers is to elaborate and implement in the 13th 5-year plan measures to organize continuous ecological education and training and determine measures to train ecological cadres and carry out general ecological education. Ecological training is to be introduced in the system of cadre skill enhancement for all sectors of the national economy. The question of creating a Higher Ecological College is to be considered.

13. International cooperation on nature conservation and global ecological problems is to be exapnded on a multilateral and bilateral basis. Implementation of the USSR's international commitements on ecological problems is to be ensured. Preparations are to be stepped up for holding a UN World Conference on the Environment in 1992.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Ecology and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources is given the job of monitoring the implementation of this resolution. M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The Kremlin, Moscow, 27 November 1989.

Political & Social

Northern Ethnic Groups Form Association

LD1212121389 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Naryhan-Mar December 12 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev:

A constituent three-day congress of the Association of Soviet Northern Ethnic Groups has opened in Naryanmar, the administrative centre of the Nenets National Okrug, in the northwest of the Soviet Union.

The interests of ethnic tundra groups are represented by over 250 delegates. They will elaborate the association's programme and rules and elect delegates to the All-Union Congress of Northern, Siberian and the Far Eastern Ethnic Groups.

Ethnic Groups have many socio-economic problems. The last such congress was held about 60 years ago. According to a public opinion poll, autonomy, regional cost accounting, national culture and the environemnt are of uppermost concern to ethnic groups.

The Congress will be attended by delegations from the north Siberian Yamal-Nenets, Evenki and Khanty-Mansi National Okrugs.

PRAVDA's Frolov Meets Foreign Journalists

PM1212135589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Meeting with Journalists"]

[Text] A meeting took place yesterday in the PRAVDA editorial office between I.T. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of the newspaper, and a large group of correspondents from foreign news agencies, newspapers, journals, radio, and television accredited to Moscow.

The journalists received detailed information on the CPSU Central Committee plenum which has been held and on the questions facing the party on the eve of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Answers were given to numerous questions concerning the practical steps which the party is taking in the course of perestroyka and also concerning the development of theory. There was a discussion of problems reflected in M.S. Gorbachev's article "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka."

Discusses Perestroyka, Article 6

LD1112202289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1911 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Dec (TASS)—"We don't need cheap popularity, we see our main task to be an analysis of the deep-laid processes which are taking place in the party and in society"—that was how the credo of the PRAVDA newspaper was formulated by its chief editor Ivan Frolov, who was elected secretary of the CPSU Central Committee 2 days ago. He was speaking today at a meeting with foreign correspondents accredited to Moscow.

Ivan Frolov said that at the CPSU Central Committee plenum which was held last Saturday, a businesslike conversation took place about the most topical issues of the party's activity and the progress of perestroyka. According to him, during a fruitful discussion various points of view were expressed about the way to solve urgent problems, but the participants in the plenum were unanimous that the party would not turn away from the revolutionary path of perestroyka.

On the question of the possibility of abolishing Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, which consolidates the leading role of the CPSU in society, Ivan Frolov said: "The Central Committee's position has been formulated in a definite way: We do not intend to stick absolutely to this article, but nor do we intend to abolish it hastily. This needs to be done within the framework of a general change in the Constitution, taking the processes which are occurring in society into consideration. In such a huge country as ours, which finds itself in such complex conditions, the CPSU is an integrating and stabilizing force which can unite people in the struggle for perestroyka. We are discussing this question in the pages of PRAVDA. It will be examined at an extended plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in January. We shall solve this question in accordance with the interests of society."

Regarding the views which exist in Soviet society on the country's further development, Ivan Frolov noted that no one has proposed any alternative to perestroyka. The entire matter is about how to understand it. In this connection he drew attention to Mikhail Gorbachev's article which was published recently in PRAVDA entitled 'The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Perestroyka'. The article explains what meaning the CPSU Central Committee puts on the concept of perestroyka, the chief editor said. He expressed the hope that this concept will find growing support in the party and in society.

Moscow TV Program Examines Role of CPSU

LD1112143189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1840 GMT on 9 December broadcasts the first in a series of programs entitled "The Party: Time of Action and Renewal," introduced by current affairs commentator Nikolay Nikolayevich Mikhaylov. The program issues on party life in the run-up to the 28th CPSU Congress and the leitmotif running throughout the program is given by one of the opening quotations by citizens, in which an elderly lady says: "No, there will be no schism, but it will be an impassioned Congress."

The title of ths first program is "Dialogues about the Party. Time of Truth, Time of Change," and the first such dialogue is between Mikhaylov in the studio and V.N. Shostakovskiy, rector of Moscow's Higher Party School, who together look back to the definition of the party that prevailed in Stalin's day, given by Stalin himself in 1937: "within the composition of our party are 3,000-4,000 higher leaders. These, I would say, are the generals of our party. Then come 30,000-40,000 middle-ranking leaders. These are our party officer corps. Then are around 100,000-150,000 of the lower-ranking party members. These are the party's NCOs, so to speak."

Just how much this concept of the party has altered is shown throughout the remainder of the program. The first of a compendium of items which make up the narrative of the program centers around the expulsion of Gennadiy Isayevich Bogomolov from the party on the grounds that membership of the CPSU is incompatible with active membership of Leningrad's Popular Front, a point that is examined by several of those featured in the program.

The issue of the role of the party is then elaborated upon by A.N. Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is shown speaking on an unspecified occasion at Moscow's Higher Komsomol School. Yavkovlev reads out a question and answers it as follows:

"What is your attitude to Article 6 the Constitution and how do you assess Gorbachev's reply to this question at the students forum? My attitude to Article 6. I personally think that this article should not exist. It does not fit [applause]...it does not fit into our structure of democratic construction on the principle of the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial authorities. It is another matter if you are asking me whether I would vote at present for the elimination of the article. I would not [applause] and this is why. This is why, I will explain it to you. I think that in putting together a new constitution, this article should not be there. It should not, in any circumstances. But if we were now suddenly to tear just that article out of the Constitution and attribute whatever kind of character it may be to the matter, I think you and I would be giving society a false signal. And what, basically, has happened? Why is it getting in our way? We are not acting on the basis of that article. The Supreme Soviet takes the decisions. The work of the Politburo is constantly changing, so to speak, as is that of the central committee, although some constants remain, that's only natural. To do it fully now—well, at a time of transition there is going to be one thing, another thing and a third thing in existence. That's inevitable. There are no pure phenomena. It cannot be that until 1985 there was one pure phenomenon, the Stalinist model, the model of stagnation and then came the April Plenum and there was a pure restructuring model. It doesn't happen like that, comrades."

The next speech to add to the portrayal of the party is by Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Central Committee of Belorussia's Communist Party, speaking at the USSR Supreme Soviet, whose concluding comment is "Perhaps today we can be divided, comrades, into communists and party members. Perhaps there is a difference between them today. This is very painful to hear, comrades, very painful."

The rest of the program focuses on different aspect of party life, showing two meetings in Leningrad. The first, dated 22 November 1989, includes references to the "crisis" surrounding the party. The second meeting, on 6 December this year, according to the caption, criticizes "relapses of capitalism" such as cooperatives and its slogans call for "restructuring in the party."

The next section of the program comes from Moscow's film headquarters where a noticeboard announces that on the 3rd, though of which month is not made clear, a meeting with People's Deputies Yeltsin, Afanasyev, and Popov was held. Both Yeltsin and Afanasyev are heard. Yeltsin stresses the ever more complex situation and the fact that there is a crisis in "the economy, finances, the social sphere, relations between the nationalities and the party" and he suggests that with the "movement from below" that has replaced the revolution from above of 1985, and which can be seen, for instance, in the miners' strikes, "no one can guarantee that this will take place only by peaceful means and a civil war bloodshed."

Several other interviews, one with an indignant worker named Volodin—enraged that 5 years of restructuring have, in his own words, brought "nothing"—follow before returning to Mikhaylov and Shostakovskiy in the studio, where Mikhaylov stresses the wide variety of people embraced in the party today: "We are constantly saying the party, the party, the party but after all, the party is not monolithic today, you see. All the 19.5 million communists carry a party card of the same type in their pockets. But Nina Andreyeva and Yuriy Afansasyev and communists who are taking part in or are members of strike committees and those communists who in the legal profession declare the strikes illegal carry that party card. They are all party members." Shostakovskiy suggests the need to elucidate the totality of views within the party, find which fractions in the Leninist sense—without independent charters and organization—exist, and to work out a party consensus on this basis.

The idea of creating established divisions in the party is taken up by Yakovlev once more, still speaking at the Higher Komsomol School. He says: "Should a Russian Communist Party be set up? I don't think there's any need. That's what I think personally. You see, it would, perhaps, lead to division of the union as a whole. It's not such a simple matter. It all demands extremely careful examination. I don't really understand all the talk around these issues. After all, to create something, you have to ask yourself why, what for, to deal with what task?"

The urgency of this issue of division within the Communist Party is taken up by the next video clips which come from a meeting at the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, being addressed initially by Algirdas Brazauskas on the fact that Lithuania's Communist Party is part of the CPSU and a member of the former is still a communist. Berezov, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, claims that with the party's loss of its monopoly on the cadres, Article 6 of the Constitution is scarcely operating in the republic and the party's leading and guiding role is hardly relevant when people are leaving its ranks and it is likely to end up as a minority in any case. The last word goes to Brazauskas: "We are aware of the responsibility inherent in the very fact of convening the 20th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party and can see the danger of a split in the party. We understand very well that this would be a very bad thing but I would ask you to understand something else as well: You see a possible split in the party from your own position, so to speak, but bear in mind, that a split with the party is also possible from other positions and we must also take this into account." He goes on to say that all aspects of the problem must be considered and a schism avoided. The ultimate aim is for people to live well in a humane state, he says, asking: "Who is against this? We're all fighting for this, striving toward it." It is, Brazauskas says, up to the party to solve social problems.

After more brief remarks by citizens, Mikhaylov rounds up the whole program: "Of course, practical action is needed but so is debate. Not in order to repent or to indulge in self-flagellation but debate for the sake of practical action and in order to arrive at the 28th Congress of the party capable of revolutionary actions, debate in order to decide who's with whom, who's against whom, who's in favor of restructuirng."

Readers Air Views on CPSU Rule Changes

PM0712103989

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 30 November 1989 carries in its First Edition on page 3 a roundup of readers' letters under the heading "What Should the CPSU Statute Be Like?" following up on a PRAVDA article under the same title published on 12 November this year.

The first letter is from G. Kanev, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Komi Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Urals Branch [Syktyvkar], on the territorial principle as applied to the formation of primary party organizations. He believes that "it would be more rational to switch to a territorial principle which works from the bottom upward" because, first, under the present "territorial-production" order of things party organizations give too many orders to economic workers, which "diminishes their initiative and responsibility," and second, the party organization "gives little attention to educational work in the collective or to the solution of its social problems."

The second letter writer, A. Tanitovskiy, secretary of a "territorial" party organization in Beltsy, Moldavia, is more concerned with ensuring that "every communist can play a part in the development of all party policy." To this end, he makes two suggestions: First, that the statute should contain a "special article giving Communists the right to freely leave the party at their own request"; second, that "the right to expel people from the party and admit new members should be given totally to primary party organizations."

The third letter is from Leningrad Professor V. Ipatov, proposing that the new statute enshrine the principle of holding "direct elections for party conference and congress delegates in territorial-production okrugs, with the simultaneous nomination of candidates to party committees."

A collective letter from Kharkov veterans A. Drozdov, A. Zagaykov, and A. Zhuravel urges "on behalf of all pensioners and invalids" that "party membership dues should not be taken from Party members who are retired, invalid, or suffering serious illness."

The fifth letter is from Party veteran I. Broy of Tallinn. His proposal: "The CPSU Statute should state that cooption onto leading party bodies will not be allowed."

Yu. Kovalev of Perm demands "changes in CPSU organizational structures to bring them more fully into line with the democratic process." He would also like to see items in PRAVDA showing the evolution of the Party Statute "from Lenin's time through the present day."

In the final letter N. Sobolev of Leningrad asks: "Why do we need a new statute if we can live and work on the basis of the present one?" And he wonders whether "we will find ourselves in the same position with a new statute as the Hungarian Communists have found themselves."

KGB Official Discusses Security Tasks

LD1112204789 Moscow TASS in English 2029 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 11 TASS—Perestroyka is in need of protecting mechanisms and it is the task of KGB officials to defend Soviet society from extremist manifestations and external threat, said a KGB official at a recent meeting between the leading officials of the Committee for State Security (KGB) of the USSR with students and teachers of the Moscow State Institute for International Relations.

At present there is much talk about the past of the state security bodies, which cannot be assessed in any single way. However, even in the most difficult years many intelligence and counter-intelligence operatives and border guards did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives defending the interests of our state. Many thousands of security officers have passed through the "meat-chopper of the purges".

In assessing KGB's activities today, one ought not to apply old yardsticks. The Committee for State Security operates within the framework of the Constitution, of the laws and decisions of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Legislation on state security and the law on the KGB is now being elaborated, which will remove the veil of excessive secrecy without however uncovering the professional technology.

Referring to the role of intelligence, a KGB official said that, although the cold war is drawing to an end, and the priority of universal human values is being asserted, not all processes develop as smoothly as one would wish them to. "We still live in a super-armed world, surrounded by a web of military bases. It is the task of intelligence to provide the Soviet leadership with reliable information about major international problems and the rising local and regional conflicts. Intelligence is also busy indentifying the potential for improving international relations," he said. In his words, intelligence may be described as an instrument for detente and confidence-building.

Another task of KGB bodies, it was pointed out, is to defend officials of Soviet organisations, and there are over 250,000 of them outside the USSR, from the scheming for foreign special services. Special services are increasingly active in their attempts to recruit diplomats, military, scientists and technical specialists. Between 1985 and 1988 the number of attempts by Western intelligence services to recruit Soviet nationals has trebled.

Sakharov Attends Lvov Human Rights Rally

LD1112173689 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] A rally 10,000 people strong organized by the Ukrainian Helsinki Union took place in Lvov on 10 December. The rally aimed to commemorate International Human Rights' Day.

The speakers supported a proposal by Andrey Sakharov and a group of people's deputies to stage a general strike on 11 December. The speakers demanded the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

A resolution was adopted at the rally which demands the defense of human rights in the Soviet Union and the rehabilitation of persons repressed during the Stalinist period.

A proposal was voiced that a new draft Ukrainian constitution should be written with joint efforts of independent public movements and organizations.

Kashlev Comments on Human Rights Situation

LD0812190489 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—Rapid positive changes are now taking place in Soviet society in the field of human rights, Soviet Ambassador at Large Yuriy Kashlev told TASS today. He spoke in connection with the Human Rights Day, observed on December 10 by a decision of the United Nations General Assembly.

The Soviet Union has confidently embarked on creating a law-governed state and bringing its domestic legislation into line with international standards.

Kashlev headed the Soviet delegation at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

"In 1989 the elections of people's deputies were held in the Soviet Union for the first time on an alternative basis. The First Congress of People's Deputies formed a qualitatively new parliament, the USSR Supreme Soviet. In this respect, the outgoing year was a turning point.

"The Soviet parliament endorsed in the first reading a bill on entry to and exit from the country and a bill on the press. The two bills fully meet the norms of international law and the Vienna accords.

"Next in line are other important bills: on the freedom of conscience and religion, on public associations of citizens in the Soviet Union and many others.

"A parliamentary debate is accompanied by mass meetings and is broadcast on television. Tens of informal organisations, the activities of which were previously unthinkable, have emerged on the political scene. All this is an illustration that the relationship within the traditional person-society-state triangle is radically changing in the Soviet Union.

"The old slogan 'person for the state' is giving way to the 'state for the person' principle.

"Such changes are prompted primarily by the development of perestroyka, in which the human factor becomes a criterion and motive force.

"But the international factor also plays a significant role in this process. New political thinking as a principle of international politics, proclaimed by the Soviet Union, means an orientation towards universal human values, the primacy of law and large-scale humanitarian cooperation.

"All this is simply inconceivable without bringing domestic legislation and practice into line with international standards and commitments.

"Matters concerning humanitarian cooperation figured importantly during the recent Malta meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush.

"Both inside the country and abroad a positive response has also been roused by such steps in the Soviet Union as the removal of articles concerning anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda from criminal legislation, the pardoning of 'political prisoners', and a reduction in the number of categories of crimes punishable by death.

"With psychiatric treatment system has also undergone a radical reform. The jamming of Western radio stations has been stopped.

"Following the Vienna CSCE meeting, the Soviet Union recognised the jurisdiction of the U.N. International Court as compulsory for itself in connection with a number of conventions concerning human rights, stated its readiness to participate in international control mechanisms in this field and joined the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.

"Nevertheless," Kashlev believes, "all these positive changes are not cause for euphoria. Criticisms are still being expressed both inside the country and abroad, and instances of the infringement of the rights of Soviet people are still being cited. Soviet officals bodies attentively consider all these facts".

"The human rights situation in the Soviet Union is changing radically. The large-scale process of renewal in the world gives us hope that we will mark the next human rights day in a more humane world," the Soviet diplomat emphasised.

Armenian-Azerbaijani Border Tension Persists

LD1112163489 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Summary] Baku—As we have already reported the situation on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border remains tense.

On 10 December a statement by the republican Interior Ministry was issued by the Azerbaijani mass media. The statement said that an armed attack in Stepanakert took place 7 December. An exchange of fire took place.

The statement also denied rumors that several villages had been occupied by the Armenians in Kubatlinsk rayon.

Immediately after the statement, people from those villages were evacuated and the attacks by the extremists were repelled by special military units.

'Armenian Extremists' Attacks Reported

NC1212080789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 12 Dec 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers today publish a report by AZERINFORM correspondent Aliyev from Lachin Rayon under the heading "As If in a War."

The correspondent reports that fire was directed against an (?aircraft) of the Azerbaijan Aviation Administration [words indistinct] from the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic on 5 December.

Meanwhile, armed groups of Armenian extremists from [placenames indistinct] villages in Armenia's Goris Rayon directed intensive fire against various residential areas in Azerbaijan's Lachin Rayon several times on 7 and 8 December. The military units based at the (Barnaul) Secondary Specialized School, which came to the assistance of the employees of the Azerbaijan Internal Affairs Ministry, were forced to return fire. The extremists were forced to retreat.

Killings Spur Investigation

NC1112111789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] At the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs:

A tense situation has been recently prevailing in the Kubatly, Lachin, Zangelan, and other border rayons. On 28 November, the situation worsened as a result of the murder of Alekperova, who was the director of the [name indistinct] state farm [sovkhoz], and Khimmat Aliyev, who was one of the drivers of the same sovkhoz.

The incident occurred on the day the (?bodies) of Asilyan and Agadzhanian, who were residents of Goris rayon in the Armenian SSR, were discovered in Beynagan rayon.

A criminal investigation has been launched into the incidents. The situation in the above-mentioned rayons is being controlled by the Azerbaijan SSR internal affairs organs and the units of the internal forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Armenian Parliament Discusses Border Security

NC1112134389 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Yerevan, 8 Dec (ARMENPRES)—The 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet continued its deliberations on 6 December.

During the morning session those present observed a minute's silence to mark the first anniversary of the earthquake in Armenia. The deputies then took up the discussion of the socioeconomic development of the republic and the 1990 state plan and budget.

The question was raised of granting an amnesty to those prisoners in the disaster zone who have not committed grave social crimes. It was decided to instruct the presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to study this matter.

During the first meeting of the session, the republic's government was instructed to clarify and inform the session concerning the safeguarding of the security of the population of the border regions of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and Armenia. The government, with the participation of the NKAO representatives and the pertinent republican bodies, has examined that issue. Concrete solutions have been put forward for several problems and some of the problems are at the solution phase. Deputy V. Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, delivered a report on the matter.

At the previous session, the Supreme Soviet had instructed the committee on legislative and social legality affairs to study the manifesto put forward by the Armenian National Movement concerning the introduction of radical democratic reforms in the republic, and to submit it for discussion to the Supreme Soviet after completion of the study. It was decided to set up a commission composed of various specialists in the republic to undertake a more thorough study of the issues concerning the introduction of radical democratic reforms in the republic, and to submit its findings to the

Supreme Soviet. In the case of their endorsement they will be submitted to public examination.

With this, the 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet concluded its meeting. The session will resume its deliberations after the conclusion of the Congress of the USSR People's Deputies.

Baku Refutes Reports on Railways Situation

NC1212100489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 12 Dec 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] Unserious reports have been carried recently by the union newspapers and central television in connection with the transportation of freight along the Nagrono-Karabakh tracks. Such reports worsen the already tense situation in the region. What is the true state of affairs?

The reply given to this question by Rustamov, first deputy director of the Azerbaijan railways administration, was published in the newspapers today under the heading "The Tracks to Nagorno-Karabakh Are Open to Railway Cars."

The movement of railway cars in the direction of Stepanakert was restored as of 4 December.

NKAO Integration With Armenia Discussed

NC0912135789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Excerpts] As you already know from our broadcasts, the 11th session of the 11th convocation of the Soviet Armenian Supreme Soviet resumed its deliberations today after a day of recess. We bring our special coverage from the session to your attention.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Samson Tonoyan, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, opened the session. At the suggestion of Deputy Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, those present observed a minute's silence in memory of the tens of thousands of our compatriots who became the victims of the terrible earthquake of 7 December 1988.

Deputy Mikhail Mkrtchyan, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee, delivered a report on the second item on the agenda; that is, on the state plan for the economic and social development of Soviet Armenia in 1990 and on the course of fulfillment of the 1989 state plan. Referring to the fundamental course of the economic and social developments for the next year, he stated:

[Mkrtchyan] The next year will be the crucial year of transition to self-management and self-financing in the republic, and will demand a great degree of responsibility. [passage omitted] As is already known to you, in accordance with the decision of the central goverment on measures to accelerate the socio-economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], the republic was participating in the solution of a number of problems in relation to the socioeconomic development of the NKAO. During the current year, the republic's construction teams contributed to the creation of the material base for a construction industry and have commissioned assembly works in several projects. Material resources have been allocated to the NKAO, such as cranes, building machines, equipments, concrete manufacturing factories, heaters and convectors, [words indistinct]. Grain and feed seeds, saplings, and young animals have been sent there to help the agriculture of the oblast. The Yerevan institutes have accepted 317 applicants, 78 of them without any entrance examination. Assistance was provided to NKAO to develop industrial (?processing) potential. With the assistance of several machine-making and light industrial enterprises of the republic, dozens of cooperatives have been set up there engaging in consumer goods production and the building industry. During 1990, a total of R 34.5 million will be invested in the NKAO; 6,000 square meters of housing, a 140-seat kindergarten, a 30-bed hospital, polyclinics having multiple shift teams, a school for 300, a sports center, one [word indistinct], 12,000 square meters of industrial projects, and 56 km of gas pipelines will be commissioned. [passage omitted] As you all know, all these measures were planned before the historic decision of the previous session of the republic's Supreme Soviet on the reunification of the NKAO with mother Armenia. So far, the measures taken by us on the NKAO had the nature of partial financial and economic assistance. Henceforth the work must be planned as an activity of a unified body. The Armenian Government, together with the ministries and departments, must henceforth take radical measures for the socioeconomic development of the NKAO by integrating it into the overall 1990 socioeconomic development plan for Armenia. That for which our people have struggled for 2 years can only be achieved if the economic potential of the republic and in particular of the NKAO is given unprecedented momentum. From this emanates the need to give a strong impetus to the building and construction industry in the NKAO. These projects must be implemented at an accelerated pace and within the shortest time possible. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Azerbaijan MVD Debates Law, Order

NC1112123889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] The restoration of a precise work rhythm in every single establishment, the provision of security for each and every citizen of the republic, and the maintenance of the legal rights and interests of the citizens—all these tasks are being fulfilled by the internal affairs, state security, procuracy, and judicial organs in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] under difficult conditions.

A meeting held at the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] examined ways of further strengthening this work and consolidating law and order. Leading officials of the law enforcement organs, secretaries of the primary party organizations, and secretaries of various rayon party committees participated in the work of the meeting.

Afrand Dashdamirov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party State Committee for Legal Affairs, opened the meeting. Ismaylov, procurator of the Azerbaijan SSR; Yusupov, deputy minister of Internal Affairs of the Azerbaijan SSR; Talibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Court; and Orudzhev, minister of justice of the Azerbaijan SSR, addressed the meeting on the work that is being carried out and the measures that are being taken to strengthen the struggle against crime and to further consolidate jurisprudence and law and order. The participants in the meeting noted that it is necessary to work under very difficult conditions at the present time. There are indications that many of the employees of the law enforcement organs are not able to consider the existing situation and carry out resolute and productive work. It is no coincidence that an increase has been observed in the number of crimes, including serious crimes, and other breaches of law in the republic.

The influence of the primary party organizations on the situation in the collectives is weak. They must strengthen political training and ideological work, demand a serious and responsible attitude from the communists and all the workers over the situation in the assigned fields, and see to it that individual responsibilities are upgraded and obligatory duties are fulfilled without shortcomings.

Particular attention was focused on matters related to the struggle against breaches of law at the interethnic level. The main effort of the [words indistinct], the procuracy, and the internal affairs organs must be directed toward the prevention of lawless activities and toward the removal of the results of these activities.

The speakers pointed to the unsatisfactory work carried out on the question of the many refugees who refuse to work and described this situation as one of the reasons which complicate the crime situation.

The meeting noted that the successful settlement of this and other problems requires that steadfast forces be mobilized in the social domain, the efforts of the law enforcing organs be united, and precise and reciprocal work be established between the law enforcement organs and the work collectives and workers militia groups in the establishments.

'Criminals' Damage Stepanakert Airport Runway

PM0412122989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Dec 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent A. Sarkisyan: "Incident at Airport"]

[Text] Yerevan, 3 Dec—Last week turned out to be a nonflying week. Snow fell throughout Armenia and there was low cloud. There were no regular flights to Stepanakert. Then it cleared up. In the morning I went to the airport to meet our photographer and I saw hundreds of passengers there, including sick people, children, women, and elderly people, who had been waiting for several days to fly to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

But despite the bright, sunny weather the aircraft remained on the tarmac. According to a report from Stepanakert, on the night of 3 December some unidentified criminals damaged the airport runway. Several meters of the concrete runway were put out of action. Immediate measures are being adopted to get the airport operating again as soon as possible.

ARMENPRES Cited on 6 Dec NKAO Incident

NC0912132789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Summary from poor reception] "The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and around it is not improving. An incident that was hard to believe took place on 6 December." An ARMENPRES correspondent reports that at around (?2210) on that day, "a mob of about 100 Azerbaijani residents entered the (Jabrayil) rayon center armed with (?hunting rifles), and seized Colonel Stepanyan, head of the NKAO Hadruyt rayon's internal affairs branch, and Colonel (Lobkanov), military superintendent of the same rayon, who were going through (Jabrayil) from Hadruyt's (Arakel) village to Hadruyt."

Stepanyan was wounded, and his gun confiscated. (Makhmedov), head of (Jabrayil's) internal affairs department, who arrived on the scene, "took the victims to the rayon's internal affairs branch and on 7 December at (?0400)," Stepanyan and (Lobkanov) were (?released). "Col Stepanyan is in the oblast's hospital. An ARMENPRES correspondent met the victim who stated that the mob beat him up," wanting to kill him. "After this, they took him to the building of the (Jabrayil) raykom building" where the (?brutalities) continued. The head of the (Jabrayil) rayon internal affairs branch went there and took Stepanyan to the militia's building.

What can be said about this incident? Once again it shows the (?illogical nature) "of the USSR Supreme Soviet decision under which Azerbaijan is assigned the duty of keeping order and safeguarding the lives and security of Armenian residents."

Yerevan Assails TV Coverage of Quake Anniversary

NC1112130289 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 9 Dec 89

[From the Republican Press Review]

[Text] On 7 December, the first anniversary of our national tragedy, the air was filled from the early morning on with moving broadcasts on the gigantic earthquake; and the Voice of America disseminated reverberating peals of Armenian bells throughout the world.

Meanwhile, the "Vremya" program, true to its principle of circumventing the truth about Armenia, made a reference to the massive physical, moral, and psychological convulsion as a pretext to announce (?what it regarded) as very pleasant news. Reports that the workers of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] had placed wreaths on the monument to victims of the earthquake was used by Vremya as an excuse to air its main point that a [word indistinct] committee has been set up in our neighboring republic in order to stabilize the situation in the NKAO. That committee was set up on the basis of a decision which was declared as invalid and without any statutory consequences for the two administrative units by a joint resolution of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and the National Council of the NKAO.

Yesterday, after receiving thousands of cables and appeals, "Vremya" (?came to its senses). It announced that it had made a mistake, stating that a day of mourning had been declared in Armenia on 7 December and that reports on the issue had arrived but unfortunately were not broadcast. In its words, these reports will be aired on 10 December.

Fire Extinguished at Batumi Oil Refinery

LD0512205789 Moscow TASS in English 1821 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Batumi, Soviet Georgia, December 5 TASS—A fire that raged for almost two days at an oil refinery in the capital of Adzhariya, an autonomous republic in Soviet Georgia, was extinguished today.

The fire, which burned six to seven tons of oil and forced the refinery's closure, is believed to have been caused by violations of technical maintenance rules.

'Acute' Competition in Latvian, Estonian Elections

LD1112210589 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Riga December 11 TASS—Results of elections to local soviets held in Latvia on December 10 are being summed up. The final election returns will become known later, but it is clear that the elections were without precedent for the acuteness of the competition.

As many as 25,000 candidates competed for 14,560 seats. In a constituency in Riga there were 15 candidates for a place in the city soviet.

All the main public and socio-political organisations in Latvia supported their candidates.

According to polls, 57 per cent of candidates in the Latvian capital were supported by the Latvian Popular Front, 39 per cent by Interfront of the Working People. There were communists among both groups of candidates. Communists accounted for 52.7 per cent of the total number of candidates.

A clergyman ran in the election in Latvia for the first time. Three quarters of the number of candidates were Latvians. Women accounted for 34 per cent of the number of candidates, workers for 20 per cent, rural people—26 per cent. 71 per cent of candidates ran in the election for the first time.

x x x

Tallinn December 11 (ETA-TASS)—The elections to local government bodies in Estonia held on December 10 were prepared and conducted in accordance with the new law.

As is known, residency requirements envisaged by the law were among the reasons for the aggravation of the political situation in Estonia late in July-early in August when strikes swept Estonia.

The strikers, people of the non-native nationality, demanded that the residency requirements be removed. The USSR Supreme Soviet found them unconstitutional. The supreme body of Estonia's state authority had to suspend the operation of the clause envisaging residency requirements for voters.

The boycott of the elections for which the United Council of Work Collectives and the Intermovement called has not been given broad support by voters.

Only in four constituencies of the Estonian capital Tallinn less than half the number of voters went to the polling stations. Repeated elections will be held in those constituencies. There will be another nomination, registration of candidates and repeated voting.

The final election returns will be announced in a few days.

Latvian Electoral Participation Reported

LD1112175589 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 2100 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Local soviet elections opened in our republic today. The doors of constituency polling stations have been closed, and counting of votes has started. This job will not, of course, be an easy one, because to every deputy's mandate there was quite a number of contenders. In Riga alone, 590 candidate deputies stood for election to 120 deputies' places.

Now, briefly, information from the republic's central election commission. By 1800 70.4 percent of electors had cast their votes in the republic. In the republic's towns, the people of Daugavpils participated most actively in the elections—67.1 percent. In Riga, this indice reached 59 percent, but, in the Oktobra rayon of the republic's capital, only 53.4 percent of electors had cast their votes by 1800. The most active electors in the republic were the inhabitants of Liepaja rayon; by 1800, 88.2 percent of electors had cast their votes.

We will give the final results on the participation in the elections in tomorrow's broadcasts.

New Tallinn Voting System Sparks Controversy

PM0512161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent L. Levitskiy report under the general heading "Election Campaign Under Way": "Reverse Effect"]

[Text] Tallinn—Nominations for candidate city soviet deputies in Tallinn have closed. The election is slated for 10 December. The city electoral commission has registered 350 candidates for 80 seats. Eight candidates were rejected for having violated the new Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Law on Elections to Local Soviets. Four of these people failed to meet the requirements of the article on residence qualifications...

It is well known that the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium assessed some of this law's articles as contravening the USSR Constitution and suggested that this contradiction be eradicated. But the Estonian Supreme Soviet deputies decided otherwise: A residence qualification would not apply to voters but would remain in force for candidate deputies.

This halfway-house compromise has not calmed things down. The Estonian Labor Collectives' Union—which includes enterprises and organizations employing mainly the native population—criticized the decision for its concession. The United Council of Labor Collectives—Russian-speaking collectives—protested that the contradictions between the republic's Law on Elections and the country's Constitution had not been removed!

Preparations for the elections have been most complicated in Tallinn. There the actual procedure for shaping organs of power has changed. The size of the city soviet has been set at 80, which is only one-third the present number. And each rayon has been pre-allocated a quota of seats. The city soviet deputies elected by a rayon's populace will automatically form the rayon soviet. Parallelism and duplication in organs of power is eradicated and this, it is thought, will improve their efficiency.

For the first time all the electoral okrugs will be multiple-seat okrugs. The voting will follow an entirely new system—the so-called single transferable vote system. I will not go into details here about the essence of this quite complicated system. I will just mention the main point: An attempt has been made to abandon traditional elections on the first-past-the-post principle—that is, when an electoral okrug is represented by just one deputy. Under current conditions this previously universal approach would only intensify interethnic confrontation. However, the old system has been tried and tested on many occasions, whereas the new system has not yet been used—and this gives rise to doubts.

Morskoy Rayon is an industrially developed rayon in Tallinn. The mood and behavior of workers at major enterprises largely determine the atmosphere in the city. In order to ease the atmosphere and prevent any buildup of conflict, 11 social organizations in the rayon—practically all movements, both formal and informal—appealed to the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium to immediately publish instructions or an official document which would explain in detail how the votes would be counted and how the winning candidates would be chosen. Unfortunately... A month passed and the Supreme Soviet Presidium had not replied. The rayon party committee plenum then sent the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the city soviet executive committee [gorispolkom] a different request: to permit single-seat elections on the rayon's territory. Again there was no reply. Events were getting heated. And then, finally, both the gorispolkom and the Supreme Soviet Presidium provided an explanation: It was too late to change anything, they would be complicating the elections once and for all.

"The rayon's concern is to make amendments to prevent confusion," A. Gusev, first secretary of Morskoy Estonian Communist Party Rayon Committee, objected. "The threat lies elsewhere. Did you sense the deputies' mood at the meeting? And the collectives are behind them... They will participate in the elections either if there are single-seat okrugs, or if the single transferable vote method is abandoned..."

This is an ultimatum, a categorical position. So what way out has been found in the republic's other cities? I called the Kokhtla-Yarve, Narva, Sillamyae, and Tartu Gorispolkoms.

"We did not rush things or take any risks. We have only one multiple-seat okrug," V. Loydap, chairman of the Kokhtla-Yarve Gorispolkom, said. "We are trying the new system here too. If we are convinced of its advantages, we will hold the elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet under the new system..."

It transpired that Sillamyae and Narva also preferred single-seat electoral okrugs.

Practice will show which of the systems—the previous first-past-the-post system or the new system—is more democratic and more in line with the situation in Tallinn. For the time being one thing is clear: Democracy introduced under administrative pressure, divorced from realities, sentiments, and convictions, and failing to take account of mass delusions, too, always has an unexpected, reverse effect... The debates about the single transferable vote are already highly heated and too politicized. They have essentially turned into a continuation of the struggle between the supporters and opponents of the residence qualification.

And the struggle will continue. The residence qualification problem is a problem of the difference between the constitutions of the country and the republic. That is a matter for the Supreme Soviet deputies.

At a meeting of Tallinn's party workers a Supreme Soviet Presidium representative, tormented by concerted attacks and questions, stated:

"All the authors of the new system have departed. I've been working to compile instructions for more than a month now..."

But a few days later at the Supreme Soviet Presidium the same representative was already confidently reporting on the readiness to hold elections under the new system. However, Academician B. Tamm, rector of Tallinn Polytechnical University, cast doubt on the correctness of the format of the new voting method. "That is why," he said, "I am abstaining for the time being." B. Tamm was isolated—the instruction was ratified.

But the essence does not lie in mathematical accuracy or the correctness of the format, it lies above all in the degree to which voters assimilate a new, albeit highly healthy, idea. This is currently rock-bottom. And it will take considerable patience to demonstrate, if only to those mistrustful plant workers, the objectiveness and usefulness of the new instructions so as not to discourage people from going to vote. The idea of boycotting the election has already been mooted.

Estonian Group's Preparation for Vote Detailed

LD1112191489 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Estonian Citizens' Main Committee clarified its positions also at a press conference. Raul Malk went along to listen:

[Malk] Estonian politics [word indistinct] keeps changing and parts of it are developing, too. Representatives of the Republic of Estonia Citizens' Main Committee endeavored at today's press conference to place the emphasis upon their persistence. At the same time, however, with a number of separate issues, better adaptation to the political situation than was felt previously [words indistinct]. As things stand at the moment, 355,000 persons have been registered, and that is then starting from March. From 11 November the Main Committee has been functioning, preparing for the Congress. From 24 February, the election of congress delegates will begin on the alternative basis. Nominating candidates begins in January and ends with the anniversary of the Tartu peace treaty, 2 February. The Main Committee is working out rules for the elections. It is envisaged that the candidates will be put forward from citizens' initiative, not from movements and organizations.

And another two tenets from the speeches of Main Committee members: Even should the political situation change (?and to whatever degree) the Estonian Congress will take place anyway. [words indistinct]

And now about the problem: citizens' committees and power. In reply it was stated that power is what succeeds in establishing itself through forced means. Those the movement does not possess. But the Estonian Congress could act as a means of pressure. Its influence will depend on the number of people who will participate in the election of the delegates. This influence was viewed from three angles: Upon the Estonian Supreme Soviet which the speakers today viewed as an dependent body—here, however, the question arises: [word indistinct] the Supreme Soviet can make decisions of the kind lie the Declaration of Sovereignty and the assessment of the 1940 events. Politics is indeed a collection of complex mutual influences and had the Supreme Soviet been no more than a local government body, or if it were such in the future, then there would be no point in exerting any pressure on it. There was indeed much less talk today of leaning heavily on Moscow. There was more talk of the upcoming second European big conference in Helsinki and the influence which it is wished can be exerted on it.

Other political forces of the citizens' committees [words indistinct]. It was repeatedly emphasized that this is not a case of a party movement. It is hardly likely that this would have confinced the journalists (?present). The beginning of the movmeent was clearly like a party, but perhaps in the future a thing or two will have changed. It would indeed perhaps be more accurate to say at the moment that the ERSP [Estonian National Independence Party], the Christian Union, and the Estonian Society for Preservation of the National Heritage carry considerable influence in the Main Committee, and in localities this phenomenon is becoming more and more clearly independent. As is known, the Estonian Union of Work Collectives has announced its support for the movement and on Monday the Estonian Association of Nationalities produced a statement giving assurances of a readiness to cooperate.

What is being considered is the proposal of the Tartu People's Front to the effect that elected local councils should be introduced into the organization of registration, and there would be separation from party [words indistinct]:

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] There has been no general meeting of the Main Committee since the Tartu People's Front's address appeared, and for that reason I cannot present the official stance. But relying upon the joint declaration of the Main Committee, under the title of "Open To Everybody," which appeared also in the press, one could say the following. The Main Committee has already appealed to all fatherland-related movements for cooperation. At the same time it is evidently no practical solution if each movement works out separately their specific proposals and then has them published in the press. For one thing this would take too much time, and second, there could also be nonproductive proposals which would be discarded in the future, and which would make the situation more ambiguous were they to be put into practice. I do not think we can afford at the moment the luxury of communicating through the press, without forming direct links. For this reason it would be of particular importance for all the movements and parties which recognize the continuity of the Republic of Estonia, and the right of the Estonian people to the restoration of independence which flows from this, to jointly sit down around a table for talks in order to work out a joint, and already specific, plan for future action. Otherwise we would simply lose time, and we may also be misunderstood. In my opinion it would be quite natural for such a joint conference to be organized by the Republic of Estonia Citizens' Main Committee, which was born as the initiative of the whole movement. [end recording]

[Malk] And, to conclude. If the Estonian Congress took a stance on the future of Estonia, it would be inseparable from issues which depend directly on the radio of the political forces at the Congress. Parties should at the same time fight for seats in the Supreme Soviet, as well as in the Congress. One could naturally declare that allocating seats at the Congress will take place without the parties' (?say-so), even if in reality (?that would be quite another story). If, on the initiative of some parties and associations there is an imminent change for something more extensive, the fighting between parties (?along this path) will be unavoidable.

Estonian People's Front Platform Assailed

90UN0282A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 1 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by G. Ispayelyan: "The Masks Have Been Discarded or Thinking Out Loud About the NFE Election Platform"]

[Text] Well, the masks have been discarded. The real goals and tasks of the "Estonian People's Front in support of perestroyka" have been revealed. All that is left is to thank the kind messieurs (or "gentlemen" as they call themselves) for the answers which the public received, even if they were 2 years late. The ultimate goals of the NFE [Estonian People's Front] were stated precisely and unequivocally in its election platform published recently by the newspapers NOORTE KHYAYEL and MOLODEZH ESTONII.

In this document the NFE with enviable candor shouted that up to this point it had quite skillfully used the perestroyka initiated by the party as a screen, as a temporary cover. Today the NFE leaders not only named their primary task out loud but with satisfaction reported its achievement: They had managed to weaken the monopoly of party authority and reduce the force of political and economic pressure from above to below, thus providing for open activity of all the rest of the political forces in Estonia—the PNNE [Estonian National Independence Party], the KhDS [Christian Democratic Union], the Society for the Preservation of Monuments of Antiquity, and so forth and so on.

And so, under the guise of perestroyka the NF is entering into a fight against socialism (any kind!), the soviets as a kind of authority, and the Communist Party. It is calling for political transformations, having adopted the ideal of creating a capitalist state in Estonia (like Sweden, Switzerland, and Finland) in which national social democracy and foreign capital are at the helm.

The Western socialism to which we are being called has nothing in common with Leninist socialism or socialist renewal of our society. Incidentally, you, gentlemen, have always known this even when you were trying impose the opinion that the real socialism is Swedish socialism. There is no question that Sweden is impressive. Its socioeconomic model successfully unites elements of the traditional capitalist market economy with social guarantees for all members of the society. But... Enchanted by this bright picture, you are achieving the restoration of capitalism in Estonia while forgetting a "small point": Estonia is not Sweden. Answer this: Which of us will be the capitalist and who will be the hired worker? In your opinion, will we begin a period of early capitalist development, that is, do you suggest essentially returning to not 50 but 150 years ago and again experiencing all the social storms. Are you serious?

In the struggle for power (and, incidentally, the privileges associated with it) the NFE leaders are not squeamish about demagoguery and are not embarrassed by insincerity. As one can see today, their previous (and repeated) assurances of the NFE's full support for the Communist Party and its leadership have cost them nothing. It turns out that at that time the gentlemen were tricking us. But now... The NF election platform directly states that it is necessary to assume the role of the captain of the ship, getting rid of the dethroned and unauthorized Communist Party, which has been responsible for all conceivable and inconceivable blunders. And, having declared in words their support for democracy and pluralism, will the NFE really not defame everyone who does not share their views not to mention those who dare to criticize them? And there will be double trouble if this person happens to be an Estonian. He would be an enemy of perestroyka, an enemy of the nation, someone in favor of stagnation, a Stalinist, and even a "Nina Andreyeva"... Thank God, things have not yet reached the point of physical terror, but moral terror has everyone cowed. And "for some reason" nobody quotes the speeches of the NF activists from the era of stagnation, and one must make allowances for those who disagree. But, gentlemen, the democracy you advise is nothing other than a monopolistic betrayal of public awareness.

During the past 2 years from all sides we have heard of nothing but the sincerity and justice of the leaders of the new movement: They are supposed to be the conscience of the nation. The republic leadership and the Central Committee of the KPE [Communist Party of Estonia] have done everything or almost everything suggested by the NF, allegedly for the good of the Estonian nation and sometimes to the detriment of the interests of other (and considerable) groups of the population. Moreover, even the draft of the program of actions of the KPE submitted on behalf of the Central Committee commission practically repeats the NFE Charter. Only the Tallinn party gorkom [city party committee] did not unreservedly accept the NFE proposals and its ultimatums, for which the leaders of the city party organizations were repeatedly subjected to filibustering.

Unfortunately, the uncritical acceptance of the ideas of the NFE (and there are fruitful ones as well) was largely promoted by the passive position of the leading party organs which, in spite of demands from party organizations and communists, did not promptly give well-reasoned responses and clarifications concerning the final goals of the NFE and their methods of achieving them. The further we go the worse it gets, and with the tacit agreement (and in many cases with the full support) of certain committees of the KPE the People's Front assumed positions hostile to the socialist system and the communist party. Therefore, in order ultimately not to be too late, even today we must show everyone where and to what kind of life the leaders of this movement are calling the Estonian people.

It is necessary to show, for example, what finally distinguishes the NF from the PNNE (and this has repeatedly been emphasized by leaders of the People's Front). As one can see from their platform, they have common goals, and they differ only in their rates of achieving them. Otherwise they both drink from the same source—the bottomless ocean of foreign literature on Soviet studies, and they have not even troubled themselves to independently update the terminological apparatus and adapt it to local needs. The independence of their ideas is shown if only by the fact that the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet was for so long unable to say anything intelligent about the methods for counting the votes at the elections to local soviets (which, incidentally, is understandable: For the "prompter"—the American author of this method, R. Taagepera [as published], "our head authority and consultant," was not there). So T. Made is not the only plagiarist.

Under loud shouts about morality, the People's Front somehow diverts attention from its own lack of moral scruples. Its leaders are members of the CPSU who from time to time (when it was advantageous for them) have taken party decisions into account, assuring us that they and the KPE are on the same path, and they have even held leading posts in the soviets. But now they are using their departure from the KPE for blackmail. Obviously they have understood that it is quite safe to sit on the spot from which there is no gunfire.

Well! The party is a union of like thinkers and it does not need any two-faced Januses. But the behavior of these "communists" is shameless. And it is time to speak about this at the top of our voice. True, the position of the PNNE leader L. Parek, which is openly hostile to the KPE, demands more respect than do the ideological flip-flops of his highly intelligent colleagues from the NFE who are shaking the party from within.

As concerns the place of the NF in the structure of political forces, the further "left" it goes, the closer it comes to the right. There is a struggle for power by parliamentary means. In this struggle today that very individual, the representative of the Estonian people in whose interests the NFE is allegedly acting, is receding into the background. The NFE needs the "simple" man only for his vote in the elections. And the NFE calls for the nation to unite only to gain the majority of votes. If for the time being the rank-and-file Estonian still believes the NFE, he might be convinced in the near future: It is not the interests of the people that motivate these hypocritical leaders but their own and their group's interests. Nonetheless it is for the people themselves to decide whom to vote for and to whom to give the right to determine the future of their land. Time will resolve this issue.

Now I think the NF has gone too far, dismissing the communist party: It is passing off what is desired for what is real. It is not without reason that Western consultants are saying that the wise man does not do anything in a hurry...

It is sad, of course, but the NF concept of perestroyka does not coincide with the party concept since it does not fit within the formula of renewal of socialism. I am convinced that the party cannot be reconciled to the antisocialist, anti- perestroyka goals of the NFE as stated in their election platform. With all the consequences that ensue.

And the last thing: Logic suggests a question: To what are the appeals of the NFE leaders aiming. Are they not directed toward destabilization in the society, will they not lead to social conflicts? Their price is high, and someone must answer for irresponsible statements... One is given hope by the natural wisdom of the people, for it is not so simple to deceive them for very long with slogans that sound good but are not backed up economically. The election platform, unfortunately, is filled with slogans like this. This means one thing: The masks have been discarded.

'Hundreds' of Estonians Seek Swedish Visas

LD1112155789 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Hundreds of Estonians are queueing today in the Estonian capital, Tallinn, to get a visa to Sweden. At 0800 this morning Sweden's first consular office in Tallinn opened, and Estonians may apply there for visas for Sweden. Previously the population was forced to travel to Leningrad to apply for a visa.

Belorussian Elections Scheduled for 4 Mar

LD1112202589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Preparations for the elections to republican and local soviets in Belorussia have started. They will be held on 4 March next year. The first sessions of the Central Commission for the Election of People's Deputies of the BSSR [Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic] have been held. Constituencies have been formed in the capital and oblasts of the republic. Belorussia has more than 7 million electors.

Minsk Oblast Party Publishes Election Program

PM0512152189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1

[M. Shimanskiy report under the general heading "Election Campaign Under Way": "Minsk: Communists' Election Program"]

[Text] The local press has published the Minsk oblast party organization's draft election program. Let me be blunt and say that this is a new and extremely important phenomenon for the inhabitants of Minsk Oblast. Communists regard the proposed draft election program as a foundation for joint practical actions on the part of party organizations, labor collectives, and the entire community.

What brought about this decision by Minsk Oblast Communists? Dissatisfaction is growing among some of the population over the results of perestroyka, and a critical attitude toward the party is growing stronger. There is much evidence of this in the oblast and in Minsk. Holdups in the supply of goods to the oblast's population and poor organization of everyday services are fueling the political acuteness of the situation. The Chernobyl disaster has had a painful effect on some areas—people living in contaminated villages and hamlets are unhappy that the consequences of this accident are slow to be eliminated. During the Kuzbass and Donbass miners' strike the situation in Soligorsk, the Belorussian miners' city, deteriorated greatly.

In short, the oblast Communists have more than enough reasons for anxiety. They are fully aware of the crucial and critical nature of the moment. That is why they asked people in advance—here is our work program until the election, see what you like and what you don't, criticize it, make proposals.

During the election to the country's supreme organ of power the voters sharply criticized the party organization in the Minsk area for serious shortcomings in the sphere of policy, ideology, and spiritual life. What lesson did the oblast's Communists derive from it?

The task of transforming party committees into political and intellectual centers has been raised. Representatives of dozens of USSR nationalities live and work in the Minsk area—they are guaranteed real political and civil rights. Violation of believers' rights is inadmissible.

Of late the problem of languages has deteriorated to an extreme degree in the republic and, of course, many people are interested in the stance of Minsk oblast communists. They support the policy of giving the Belorussian language state language status and ensuring the free development and functioning of languages used by representatives of other nationalities living in Belorussia.

Returning to the people undeservedly forgotten historical cultural values and traditions is of particular concern. In particular, a monument to the great humanist and teacher Frantsik Skorin will be unveiled in Minsk. Historical cultural monuments are being restored in the ancient Belorussian cities of Nesvizh and Zaslavnya. It is planned to build houses of culture in many rayon centers in the oblast using state investment.

Moldavia Approves Economic Independence Draft

PM1112161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent E. Kondratov report under the rubric "In the Republics' Governments": "Concept for Independence"]

[Text] Kishinev—The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers has ratified by resolution a draft Concept for the Moldavian SSR's Socioeconomic Independence [samdeyatelnost], which the so-called free working group and creative collectives took more than a year to formulate.

The concept assumes the formation of an effective mechanism for the territorial self-management and self-financing of the republic, which, as proposed, will build its economic relations with USSR state organs, union republics, and foreign powers exclusively on the basis of mutually beneficial agreements and treaties. Moldavia's territory cannot be used by anybody without its consent, and the republic has full sovereignty regarding its national wealth.

In accordance with the concept, only property of defense industry enterprises and military units, and also facilities of the state mains and highways infrastructure—the transportation network, pipelines, and powerlines—will remain all-union property on Moldavian territory. All the rest—land, water, forests, housing, banks, cultural monuments, and all enterprises (including those under union-level jurisdiction) belong to the Moldavian people. It is intended that local soviets will have all national wealth at their disposal.

The concept envisages that a plan-regulated market economy will be the basis for the activity of enterprises acquiring full economic independence. Their relations with local soviets, the republic, and the USSR are being built on a stable, uniform tax system.

The switch to the new economic relations, the authors of the draft think, will obviously require changes to the republic's administrative-territorial system and the formation of enlarged districts. Incentives to speed up the comprehensive development of southern Moldavia, and the adoption of a law on citizenship and also on prosecution for concealing or distorting statistics are envisaged.

The draft concept will be published in the republic press for discussion and will subsequently form the basis of a law on the Moldavian SSR's socioeconomic independence.

Moldavian Party, Government Appeal to Citizens

90UN0329A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 12 Nov 89 p 1

[Appeal of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers to the Republic's Population]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

At this exceptionally tense, difficult time the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and MSSR [Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers appeal to you, citizens of the republic, communists and nonparty people, and to all to whom peace and tranquillity in our common home—the MSSR—are dear.

The events of recent days, which have literally shaken the republic, cannot fail to cause profound concern among all who really care for their future and their children's future and for the creation of a real law-based state in which the law and order are not a plaything in the hands of hooligan elements and all kinds of extremists. And it is they who are destabilizing the social and political situation in the republic, which recently reached crisis point.

As is known, mass disturbances of public order were perpetrated in Kishinev as a result of the actions of extremist groups of people. General anger was caused by the attempts to thwart the Great October holiday, which essentially grew on 10 November of this year into downright outrages, when pogrom acts on Lenin Prospekt occurred. Call boxes and stalls were destroyed and put out of order, and store windows were smashed. An attempt was made to seize the MSSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] building. Disregarding the numerous appeals for common sense, aggressive persons, young people, in the main, pelted the MVD building with stones and bottles, set fire to and damaged police vehicles and attempted to disarm police officers, who were in response forced to employ special means, as far as warning shots. There were numerous casualties, with serious injuries included. These were law enforcement officers, in the main.

While expressing regret and serious concern at what happened, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and MSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers emphasize that such violations of legality and law and order can no longer be tolerated, with whatever assurances of devotion to perestroyka their organizers cover themselves. That is, those who, employing pseudo-political slogans and appeals, are pushing masses of people into unlawful actions, substituting permissiveness for democratization and playing an extraordinarily dangerous game. The spurring of aggressiveness is political recklessness. This is an unconcealed struggle for power, for the ouster of the legitimately elected executive authorities of the republic and for a change in the political structure of our society. To slogans of support for perestroyka parvenu leaders are slandering the party, attempting to portray the activity of the party and state leadership in a distorted light and tearing the working people away from practical, vitally necessary business. These provocative, essentially anti-perestroyka actions are leading to a destabilization of the social and political situation and palpably impeding the processes of radical transformations in society begun on the initiative of the CPSU. This needs to be clearly and precisely seen by each of us.

At this difficult time the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and MSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers appeal primarily to the communists of the republic, on whose active and clear-cut position and readiness to defend the cause and authority of the party and our common socialist values the further progress of perestroyka largely depends. No one may today stand aside, neutrally observing so dangerous a development of events. It is all the more intolerable when individual communists themselves participate in unlawful actions and acts under slogans discrediting the party.

It is the duty of every CPSU member, leader communists and the party activists to oppose the provocative calls and actions by personal participation and example and adopt decisive measures for the mobilization of all healthy forces for bringing order to bear in the republic and uncompromising struggle against all kinds of extremist elements and those inspiring them.

We appeal to the working class, the laboring peasantry, veterans, Komsomol members and the youth, inhabitants of cities and villages of the republic and people of all nationalities: We must today be united in our endeavor to preserve all that is best that has been created by the common labor of the Moldavian people and preserve values common to all mankind—peace and tranquillity, good relations between people and respect for the law and the rights and liberties of each citizen. Let us counterpose our organization and cohesion to those who do not respect our sacred things and socialist ideals and who are attempting with dubious appeals and every conceivable rumor to distract people from vital specific concerns, sow interethnic discord and embroil the generations.

We count on the intelligence and innate humanism of our women, mothers and sisters. They are called upon by their womanly wisdom and gentleness to assuage passions, protect by their warmth our common hearth, inspire faith in our children's bright future and prevent their participation in unlawful actions.

Greater than ever is the role of the republic's intelligentsia, which should be up to its spiritual purpose and be directing its authority toward the moral cleansing of society and a salutory influence on the younger generation.

We appeal to the people's deputies of the USSR and the Supreme and local soviets of the republic: display state-minded wisdom and political breeding and make full use of the high title of people's elect and the wide-ranging powers of a deputy for a restoration of trust, mutual understanding and human concord.

We call on all inhabitants of the republic and its capital, regardless of nationality and religious belief, to display calm and forbearance, not to succumb to panic and not allow themselves to become involved in dangerous, essentially unpredictable actions.

The leading authorities are taking decisive action to bring order to bear and have drawn up and are implementing urgent political, organizational and administrative measures to ensure the republic's normal activity.

Let us unite in our efforts to bring order to bear in our common home, reassure our collectives and families and afford them an opportunity to live and work for the good of our fatherland!

[Signed] The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers.

Uzbek-Leningrad Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD1112212689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A long-term agreement on the development of economic, scientific, technological, and cultural cooperation has been concluded for the first time between the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast. It was signed today in Moscow. Karimov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast and city committees of the CPSU Central Committee took part in the signing ceremony. [video shows two men signing and exchanging documents]

Supreme Soviet Lack of Unity of Purpose Seen

90UN0351B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 47, 25 Nov 89 p 2

[Letter from G. Rudneva of Tula Oblast: "Bringing Together, Not Disuniting"]

[Text] My heart aches after each report from a session of the country's Supreme Soviet. It is distressing that there is no unity of purpose among the deputies. A struggle for priorities and ambition is under way. Our highest organ of state power has been broken down into groups and factions, and each is convinced that it has a monopoly on the truth.

Political labeling is in vogue. Where have we seen such things before?

There is much talk currently about the Interregional Group of Deputies. It has isolated itself, in my view, from the rest. We need to be seeking points for a convergence of opinions, and not separating into irreconcilable camps. In rejecting something or other or criticizing it, it is necessary to offer suggestions also. After all, criticism should be constructive. What is the point of arguing about regulations when the country's economy is in crisis? We have more important problems. We need to enact property, land and press laws. The packages of legislative instruments without which the development of our perestroyka is impossible.

Let us not be elucidating relationships at such a tense time. We need not disunity but, on the contrary, to make every effort to consolidate society. We need to work out the sole correct path of the country's development. And this may be done under the conditions of a community of aims and means for their achievement, and not amid dissension.

Role of Interregional Group of Deputies Viewed

90UN0351C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 47, 25 Nov 89 pp 2-3

[USSR People's Deputy S. Stankevich interviewed by ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondents S. Avetisyan and D. Makarova: "We Have No Easy Way"]

[Text] [Avetisyan, Makarova] Sergey Borisovich, it is known that you are an American studies expert by profession. Does the knowledge accumulated in your study of the United States help you in your new parliamentary activity?

[Stankevich] Of course. The subject of my candidate's degree was "Political Struggle in the U.S. Congress in the 1970's." And although there can be no direct analogy between our political system and the U.S. system simply because the conditions have too many differences, there is, nonetheless, a certain technique of legislative process which is universal. Such things as, for example, the procedure for the submission and examination of amendments and their varieties, the formation of parliamentary committees and their work process, the organization of the deputy's office, work with the electorate at the place of residence—it makes sense to study and assimilate all these methods which have been streamlined in U.S. practice.

[Avetisyan, Makarova] You are a member of the Interregional Group of Deputies....

[Stankevich] Various forces, various currents are united in the Interregional Group. The most obvious of them is the viewpoint of the democratic intelligentsia, for whom a kind of moral symbol is, say, A. Sakharov, and Yu. Afanasyev is a political authority. There are people more inclined toward the subject of social justice, the fight against privileges and antibureaucratic and anti-elite problems. These people are oriented toward B. Yeltsin. It is thus that the coordinating nucleus of the Interregional Group has taken shape.

[Avetisyan, Makarova] Some people believe that the impulses of perestroyka emanating from the top have become less assertive.

[Stankevich] I would not maintain this categorically. First, because the possibility of choice of method and means is now objectively limited. Second, M.S. Gorbachev's advantage now is that he combines in his hands two worlds, as it were—the old one which is departing and the new one which is springing up. And he is keeping these two worlds from fatal conflict—what is more, from violent confrontation. And in this capacity he is irreplaceable. Gorbachev is, perhaps, the sole person who could have initiated this change in that composition of the Politburo and could have brought it to the present phase. It seems to me that our country is now facing an election attended by great risks and great responsibility, because it is necessary to try measures of a radical, breakthrough nature which impart new impetus to perestroyka.

[Avetisyan, Makarova] Consequently, you have the feeling that the government is dawdling?

[Stankevich] What we are observing now is mainly so-called crisis government, when the situation is continually tense: now in one part of the country, now in another something is happening—strikes, interethnic clashes, natural disasters. Crisis government is becoming a way of life for our government. And this is very dangerous because the process could go on indefinitely; and moreover, problems will grow more quickly than our capacity for resolving them.

The sole opportunity for avoiding this is to abandon government by firefighting methods and to attempt to switch to anticipatory administration.

[Avetisyan, Makarova] Tell us, do you—the Interregional Group—have a strategic program for perestroyka or do you only criticize?

[Stankevich] The Interregional Group is the first serious parliamentary group in the history of our highest legislative body. Our main task is to extend and radicalize perestroyka. It is essential to make the process of change more intensive and consistent. Those who are expecting of the Interregional Group some sensational moves will most likely be disappointed. There is nothing in our program which goes beyond the limits of common sense and the limits of historical experience accumulated by mankind. In the sphere of the economy this means an attempt to place all forms of ownership under conditions of equal economic competition and pursue consistent destatization and demonopolization.

In the political sphere this means an endeavor to have such absolute essentials as, for example, media that are free of censorship and direct ideological and administrative diktat. And what is more, the freedom and pluralism of the media should have material safeguards. That is, the state cannot continue to control strictly and in monopoly fashion the allocation of paper resources and printing equipment and cannot be the sole proprietor and controller of the television and radio stations, for example. We have to create public media and recreate the Soviet press, that is, true organs of the soviets, which is as yet simply lacking.

The citizens, on the other hand, must have the opportunity to use all the forms of democratic self-organization which they need and which may be limited only by the Constitution and current laws. Most important changes in our social and political system and the Constitution should be made with the aid of referendums.

[Avetisyan, Makarova] A program sufficiently obvious and acceptable to all, it would seem. The question is, how to implement it?

[Stankevich] This is a key issue, on which many copies will yet have to be hacked out and on whose solution, I am profoundly convinced, the fate of perestroyka will depend to a considerable extent. It is a question of the social cost of perestroyka. No one, the leaders of perestroyka included, have so far ever posed this question with the necessary degree of candor. Wittingly or unwittingly, the illusion is being cultivated in us to the effect that some miraculous way out of the crisis situation in which we find ourselves is possible where no one loses anything and where everyone only gains—new opportunities, new benefits—and that there will be no casualties in this process. This is a harmful illusion, which needs to be dispensed with as quickly as possible.

The very structure of our economy is fatally inefficient. The whole world is switching to a new economic structure, to a resource-saving and scientifically and intellectually intensive economy. And where hitherto our lag behind the leading economic countries has been measurable in some foreseeable number of years, now, unless we make this transition in time, we run the risk of lagging behind forever.

Whole sectors of our economy and whole professions connected with them are inevitably doomed to wither away in the process of transition to the new technological order. Specifically, the enormous amounts of coal produced here, which are connected with incredibly distended metallurgy. The metal consumption of our mechanical engineering is high, and the amounts of mechanical engineering themselves are totally unwarranted. And so on down the line.

This is a "Samoyed" structure of the economy working for itself. But now picture this scene: hundreds of thousands of skilled workers are employed in these objectively, historically doomed sectors. But imagine the kind of social cataclysm our society will have to go through if we really wish to restructure our economy, although we have no other solution. Naturally, under these conditions the state is obliged to amortize the inevitable social upheavals which await us en route to a far more modern structure of the economy.

A statewide system of retraining and redeploying personnel is essential to us for this. Many people will have to change professions and places of residence. But this needs to be said honestly right now. The price at which real perestroyka may be achieved needs to be explained.

We are continuing, however, to invest enormous resources in sectors which are doomed in advance, instead of investing this money in a system of personnel respecialization.

[Avetisyan, Makarova] How, in your opinion, should perestroyka affect agriculture?

[Stankevich] According to various estimates, 30-40 percent of the kolkhozes [collective farms] operating currently are unprofitable even under the conditions of concentrated state subsidies. In this situation it is proposed to sharply increase capital investments in agriculture without altering its structure—but billions of rubles, whose fate has been lamentable, have gone to the kolkhozes in recent years. We could, of course, continue to increase the amount of costly equipment, which will go to rust in the fields; we could produce further tons of mineral fertilizer and poison ourselves with it. We could attempt with these infusions and intensive financial therapy to maintain the activity of collective farms which are already bankrupt.

And there are many farms which have adapted to this system; what is more, they are swallowing up huge state subsidies and have reconciled themselves to their unprofitability, but have their own local economy on the attached grounds.

The unprofitability of public farming and the flourishing of the adjoining personal plots is quite a convenient situation which could go on indefinitely by way of state capital investments.

The sole solution in this situation, it seems to me, is to conclude a kind of social contract between government and people.

The government should say: "We see as the aim of perestroyka a society in 10-20 years that will look like so and so. The transition to the desired state of society from what we have may be achieved by such-and-such means, that is, we will be forced to pay a certain price. Now, if you are prepared to take on this price, we are prepared to assume the responsibility."

[Avetisyan, Makarova] Under what conditions might people consent to such a social contract?

[Stankevich] In the event, it seems to me, that those offering their strategy and their program of perestroyka are ready to share with the people all the difficulties of this period, having renounced all privileges, and to implement all changes openly, under permanent democratic supervision.

Cooperative Workers' Trade Union Founded

LD0612203789 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 6 TASS—The first founding congress of the Trade Union of Workers of the Union of Scientific, Technical and Production Cooperatives, Profit-and-Loss Accounting Organisations and Enterprises opened in Moscow today.

The congress approved the rules and elected the leading bodies of the trade union. The organisation is based on a progressive two-link structure. The officials of the public central committee will be supported not by membership fees but by discounts from the income of the self-financing creative divisions. The bulk of the money resources will be accumulated in the primary organisations.

Chairman of the union Dmitriy Yakovlev noted that the trade union's principal task will be to help the consumer reorientation of the scientific and technological process and pointed out the need for a closer coordination of the interests of work collectives with those of the state within the framework of the trade union movement.

The Union of Scientific and Technical Cooperatives is a voluntary self-governing organisation that coordinates cooperative activity to facilitate the solution of outstanding issues, accelerate the scientific and technological progress and help the Soviet economy catch up with the latest achievements of science and technology of other countries, Yakovlev told TASS.

Difficulties Seen in Abandoning Permit System

90UN0351E Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 47, 25 Nov 89 p 1

[A. Dorofeyeva collation: "Permit Hostages"]

[Text] The permit system remains now as one of the few rudiments of Stalinist socialism. It was introduced back at the time of collectivization and industrialization for controlling the movement of the adult population. But essentially put the citizens under house arrest.

Who knows how many tragedies registration, for example, caused? We newspeople frequently encounter unfortunate people who have lost it for various reasons. Some (our national legislation immediately brands them "bomzh" [no fixed abode]) have been wandering around stations for decades and have been forced to hide from representatives of the authorities.

And how many people have there been who once transgressed and who, having served their sentence, have been unable on account of this very permit to return to their parents, wife and children and find work even? The fate of those who had no desire to break family ties was predetermined. Living in one's own home without a permit would frequently result in a new arrest and conviction in accordance with Article 198 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Thousands of such cases are gathering dust in court archives. Thus has our legislation spawned recidivists.

But abandoning the permit system now is not that easy. For this social problem is tightly intertwined with economic problems. We know, after all, how attractive and prestigious to many people life in the capital and a number of other cities seems.

Yet in accordance with the Vienna accords, which were signed by the USSR also on 15 January 1989, all restrictions on citizens' movement have to be lifted. We now need to bring Soviet legislation into line with international rules of law.

Residence Curbs Seen Out of Step With CSCE

PM2711144189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Reader's letter under the general heading "Back Page Mailbag": "Vienna Documents for Abroad and For Us"]

[Text] There was an article entitled "The Laws Are Lagging Behind" in IZVESTIYA No 283. It was about the fact that the final documents of the Vienna meeting are not being fulfilled in the USSR. Comrade Kashlev, USSR ambassador, announced to the entire world that the final documents of the said meeting must be fulfilled by all the states which signed the document as of the day they were signed.

Whereas a lot of attention was devoted in the article to freedom to choose where to live in a particular state, nothing was said about freedom to choose where to live within our country. As if this problem does not exist in our country! Why stress that now every Soviet citizen has the right to go and live permanently in the United States or some other country if I, for example, cannot implement my right to leave the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to live permanently in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The local authorities have taken refuge behind various regulations hindering the implementation by Soviet citizens of their right to choose where to live within the country.

For a number of reasons I tried for many years to change my apartment from the city of Zhitomir to Krasnodar, but unsuccessfully. Then I decided to leave the housing cooperative (a housing construction cooperative apartment block) and to buy a private house in Krasnodar. I asked the Krasnodar City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] how best to do this.

They replied that by a decision of the CPSU city committee and the gorispolkom only citizens from Krasnodar who have been registered in this city for no less than 5 years have the right to obtain a private house. One wonders how it is possible to be registered in Krasnodar if you don't have housing?

I sent the gorispolkom letter to the USSR Foreign Ministry and asked them to say how this matches up with the human rights subscribed to in Vienna. The ministry reported that this question was not within their competence, and advised me to ask the legal consultation service where I lived. There I was told that such bans exist in virtually all cities in the European part of the USSR.

Why should we compromise ourselves in the eyes of the whole world by declaring on paper freedom to choose where to live not only within the country, but also among states? Essentially almost nothing has been done in this regard even within the country, although 1989 is coming to an end, and this is the year during which every country must bring its legislation into line with the final documents of the Vienna meeting.

[Signed] P. Nikitin. Zhitomir.

Prospect of Open Borders Discussed

90UN0371A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 25 Nov 89 p 4

[Commentaries on the Law on Freedom of Travel by Fedor Burlatskiy, member of the International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Boris Nazarov, vice president of the public commission for international cooperation on humanitarian questions and human rights; and Nikolay Smirnov, deputy chief of the Administration for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "Borders Without Locks?"]

[Text] **What will help us scrap, if not the "Iron Curtain," then the still remaining "fence" in the relationships with other countries. Undoubtedly, it is impossible to answer this question without observing our civic rights, including the right to freedom of travel. On 13 November, the USSR Supreme Soviet approved, on a first reading, a draft law that guarantees this right.**

Fedor Burlatskiy, member of the International Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

After glasnost, this law is the second major step in the direction of an open society.

The law puts an end to the tyranny of instructions, telephone rights, and secret denunciations which accompanied departures of Soviet citizens going abroad or their return to the Soviet Union. There no longer will be a division into those who have or do not have the right to exit the country, into "those who can depart" and "those who cannot depart." The law forms an equal and general right that is primordially inherent, properly, to any person: the freedom to travel.

Further. A mass of restrictions existed until recent times, when a lot was done both with respect to emigration abroad and with respect to temporary trips. In particular, there was a requirement for an invitation from abroad as grounds for departure for a permanent place of residence or on a temporary trip. Now no invitations are required. A person is free to select the time and place he wants to go to...

A very important point in this law is associated with the question of secrecy. Until recently, virtually total arbitrariness reigned. The ministries and departments kept this problem entirely under their own control. They might not give permission for a person's departure for 10, 15, and 20 years after he stopped working in a given ministry or department; for example, in the ministry of defense or other ministries that are involved in secret work. A rule has now been established that refusal for departure is limited to a period of only 5 years, and it can be prolonged only in exceptional circumstances. This is very important.

One more important feature of this law relates to the freedom of return to the Soviet Union. All kinds of restrictive barriers stood in the way in the preliminary stages of the elaboration of the law. We insisted on that right which is applied in all civilized countries. That a citizen of the USSR could return to the Soviet Union whenever he desires. This is especially important for our emigration—both those who went of their own accord, and those who left against their wishes. This was one of the most complicated questions in working on the law.

And further. The law can remain on paper if firm guarantees associated with the mechanism of its action are not given and elaborated. I have in mind the problem of "filthy lucre"—that is, the exchange of hard currency, transport, the procedure for arranging departure to go abroad, and many other practical questions. We insisted that in passing this law that a draft decree of the USSR Council of Ministers on all of these questions be presented at the same time. But, unfortunately, this was a difficult task to fulfill. But we—I have in mind the International Affairs Committee and other committees of the Supreme Soviet interested in this law—will monitor the preparation of this question, and we will use our influence in its resolution.

I will mention two figures that show the scale of the forthcoming changes. While this year about 200,000 persons departed for permanent residency abroad—more correctly, will depart by the end of the year—it is expected that next year about 500,000-600,000 persons will depart. While this year about 2 million persons departed on temporary trips, it is surmised that 6-7 million persons will depart on temporary trips.

I would like to say something about one more problem. We must see to it that the right to go abroad does not become elitist. So that practically everyone could enjoy this right!

Boris Nazarov, vice-president of the public commission for international cooperation on humanitarian questions and human rights:

The appearance of this kind of a law can only be welcomed. It is a question of protecting one of the most important personal rights—the right to freedom of travel. But I would like to note immediately: The draft is imperfect. The old sickness of our legislative creativity has shown up again: On the one hand, there is progressive content and a big step to democracy, but, on the other hand, there is a lack of the necessary guarantees. And they must be embedded in the standard act itself.

What do we see in the draft law? On the one hand—if you please, depart, and, on the other hand, we continue to weave an invisible web of restrictions. The first thing, of course, is the situation with currency, that is, the lack of material guarantees. But this is not the only restriction; there are more serious problems.

Let us turn to Article 8 of the draft law, which consists of two sections. The article talks about the reasons for which a departure can be disapproved. The first paragraph immediately raises doubt: "If there are reasons that affect the interests of the state security of the USSR," or, in the second section: "Departure from the USSR to go abroad on private matters for a temporary stay may not be approved for a citizen of the USSR: 1. In the interests of maintaining public order and the health and morality of the population—until the curtailment of the effects of the circumstances that preclude departure..."

These two statements have a bad effect on guarantees—everything is washed away here, and there is no precision: "Who" and "what" can determine what the circumstances are that are in question, and what is meant under morality of the population.?

Many of my opponents can refer to international standards. But, first, I am not a proponent of blind copying of the West: We must take all that is progressive and go farther, since we are thinking about a law-governed state. Second, this provides an opportunity for abuses. The Summary Document of the Vienna Meeting assumes such restrictions, but only in exceptional circumstances. And the main thing is that it emphasizes: "The participating states will ensure that these restrictions are not abused and that they are not applied arbitrarily, but in such a way as to ensure the effective implementation of these rights." And this vital statement turned out to be outside the field of view of the authors of the law. Incidentally, about the authors. I am convinced that the anonymity of the drafts of similar laws must be eliminated.

I would also direct your attention to two other facts: First, a number of clauses in the draft law envision conflicting situations, and various versions for their resolution are proposed. Citizens must retain the right to appeal any decision in a judicial proceeding.

Second. A whole series of referenced standards are contained in the draft law. That is, the law is covered by many other standard acts, decrees, and instructions. In my opinion, it is more expedient to consider all of them in one legislative act.

And, in conclusion, I want to say: Much that is being done in the country today is an attempt to get out of the labyrinth in which we found ourselves. The path that has been taken is correct, but nothing can be done by not working to full capacity.

Nikolay Smirnov, deputy chief of the Administration for International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the USSR MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs]:

It is difficult to overestimate the meaning of this law. For the first time in Soviet history, the problem of entry and exit of Soviet citizens into and from the country has been placed on a legal footing. I consider this to be one of the achievements of our legislative activity. Despite the heavy involvement in complex economic and social questions at the USSR Supreme Soviet, the time was found to examine the draft law and approve it on the first reading. It can be assessed rather highly, although it still has quite a few weak places, which was also noted by the people's deputies in discussions.

The main provisions of the draft meet the highest international standards: The international pacts on human rights, which our country ratified, and the Vienna Summary Document, and a number of other international standards.

Of course, the law cannot talk about all of the conflicts of our citizens that are associated with departure and entry. It cannot be expanded endlessly. Therefore, Article 3 affirms that many questions that are not included in the law or that are reviewed in it only in general terms, will be regulated by decrees and instructions of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the USSR Council of Ministers. It is very important that these documents will be open, and that they will be available to each citizen.

Also resolved was the question of freedom of departure of Soviet citizens both for temporary and permanent residency in any country without the invitations that were necessary previously. All that will be required is permission for entry on the part of the other state. But it is precisely here that specific complications can also arise: By no means are all states ready to receive all interested persons. For example, the United States is already establishing quotas for those departing from here, and there are lines at the American Embassy.

Of course, many are troubled by the question of restrictions on departure. However, the list of these restrictions coincides with Article 12 of the pact on political and civic rights. Incidentally, in the past year, the number of "rejects" constituted 0.15 percent of those who wanted to depart for a time, and 0.4 percent of those who wanted to leave for permanent residency.

Now the question of new foreign passports is being examined, and the fact that it will be possible to depart for socialist countries with an ordinary Soviet passport, after getting a special insert for it.

The main thing, in my opinion, is not only to scrap the "fence," but also to pave the way as much as possible, and as quickly as possible.

Further on Ligachev Talks With West Siberians

PM0612150989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "West Siberia: Improving Oil and Gas Workers' Living Conditions"]

[Text] Nizhnevartovsk—Almost two-thirds of the all-Union oil and gas output is produced in West Siberia. Thousands of people are working in harsh natural and climatic conditions. How can their living and working conditions and food supply be improved?

These questions were discussed at a businesslike, working conference in the center of one of the biggest oil and gas complexes. On the eve of the conference the following opinions were expressed: We provide the country with large quantities of oil and gas. Why can't the country provide us with meat, milk, and vegetables? Others argued: It is necessary to ensure all-around development of the local production of staple food products. These clashes of opinion provided the basis of discussions between Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with oil, gas, construction, and transportation workers in Tyumen and Tomsk oblasts and, naturally, also at the conference.

These questions do indeed affect the interests of thousands of people, and optimum solutions to them must be found without delay. After the meeting in 1985 between Tyumen Oblast oil workers and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, social issues began to be resolved more actively. At the same time, by no means everything has been done to ensure the comfort of people in the North. Stable food supplies for cities, workers' settlements, and duty shifts remain a rather acute question. The gist of the speeches boiled down to the fact that it is extremely important to use the correct tactics in respect of this region with its material and technical potential and territorial features.

Ultimately all who took part in the discussion concurred that, of course, the state has been allocating and will continue to allocate the necessary food products to the Siberians, but that it is necessary to expand their own local production. Addressing the conference, Ye.K. Ligachev said that the basis for the solution of this task is provided by the modern agrarian policy elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum. The time has come to seriously tackle the provision of the Siberian countryside with technical and social amenities. It is important to assist the transformation of production relations in the agro-industrial sphere on the basis of economic-accountability relations, the lease, and the contract. Ultimately collective and state farms [kolkhozes and sovkhozes] in Siberia, as elsewhere in the country, must become cooperatives of leaseholding collectives. Quick returns can be provided by enterprises' and citizens' agricultural enterprises. Yet, the Central Committee secretary noted, in Tyumen and Tomsk oblasts there are still many urban collectives which still do not have subsidiary farms. These farms and also personal plots must be provided with a range of the necessary equipment which, however, is still in short supply in the country.

In this context approval was expressed for the initiative of the Tyumen workers who are embarking on the production of mini-tractors for small farms. The establishment of horticultural cooperatives and vegetable-growing partnerships is a pleasing phenomenon in the north of West Siberia. They help to substantially enrich people's vitamin intake and at the same time contribute to people settling down in these areas. Economic managers who foster this useful movement in every way are acting correctly. However, Ye.K. Ligachev noted, increased production of agricultural produce will fail to yield the necessary results, as has already been the case more than once, unless we set about creating a modern food industry in Siberia. That is obvious now.

Meanwhile the plan for the first 4 years of the current 5-Year Plan for the construction of dairy and meat plants and bread-baking and confectionary enterprises has not been fulfilled in Tyumen Oblast. Food industry projects will become a priority concern in the activities of local soviets and economic organs in the next few years, and party committees, in turn, will have to make greater demands in this respect on leaders who are communists.. All this is meant to ensure the satisfaction of people's most basic requirements and therefore it demands party attention and supervision. The question of the rational siting of agricultural produce processing enterprises was raised at the conference.

Everyone agreed that it is necessary to show more concern for food workers' collectives and to enhance the prestige of this profession. The Siberians noted with satisfaction that direct economic ties between oil and gas worker collectives and kolkhozes and sovkhozes in southern republics are producing good results. The conference in Nizhnevartovsk was attended by representatives from the Ukraine, Moldavia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and southern oblasts of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], and this will serve to further consolidate mutually advantageous relations.

At the same time statistics show that the construction of hot-houses has not increased either in Tyumen or Tomsk oblast, yet they cannot live solely on imported vegetables. The conference participants came to the conclusion that there is indeed a possibility of resolving many food problems locally.

The conference was attended by G.P. Bogomyakov and V.I. Zorkaltsev, first secretaries, respectively, of the Tyumen and Tomsk CPSU oblast committees; USSR Ministers L.I. Filimonov and V.G. Chirskov; V.S. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the board of the "Gazprom" state gas concern; and RSFSR ministry and department leaders.

Pugo Activities in Kalinin Reported

PM0512164589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Dec 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Consolidation—Command of the Time"]

[Text] Kalinin, 1 Dec—The changes occurring in the life of Soviet society have also left a deep imprint on the nature of trips by leading figures of the party and the country. Tasks are jointly discussed and posed at meetings with labor collectives, and monologues give way to dialogues, and directives to thought.

A further opportunity to be convinced of this was presented during the stay in Kalinin 30 November and 1 December of B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. The very itinerary was unusual. The visit to the city began with a meeting with journalists.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee chairman's meeting with the students and teachers of Kalinin State University was a kind of continuation of his conversation with the journalists. The meeting showed that, despite the specific nature of the interests of student youth, they are concerned primarily about fundamental problems of economics and politics. B.K. Pugo spoke about the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session devoted to the results of the All-Union Student Forum and about the measures being taken to fundamentally improve political and ideological education work among students. There was a discussion on raising their living standards and strengthening the material and technical base of higher and secondary specialized schools.

B.K. Pugo also visited the "Khimvolokno" Production Association. The visit to the enterprise was linked with his previous trip to Kalinin on the eve of the elections of USSR people's deputies. At that time, during a meeting at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Synthetic Fibers, there had been a discussion of the question of the need to draw it closer to the association and to utilize scientists' development achievements in the production of output—consumer goods above all. What has already been done for this, and which problems still have to be solved? This was discussed with the enterprise's leaders and specialists, the labor collective, and its party aktiv.

The chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee had talks with members of the oblast party committee bureau.

Karaganda Workers Committee Stripped of Powers

LD0311181189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent S. Sytykh from Karaganda Oblast]

[Excerpts] A provisional Oblast Workers' Committee was set up to monitor the fulfillment of the demands put forward by miners during the July strike, and now the issue of this committee's powers, of its further existence, has been submitted at a sitting of the 12th Extraordinary Session of the Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

The issue is that after the strike, the oblast executive committee and the presidium of the oblast council of trade unions jointly adopted a regulation on the Workers Committee of the Karaganda Coal Basin, thereby legalizing the workers' independent organization and granting it broad legal powers. For instance, the workers committee is able to declare and end strikes, to express no confidence in leaders, and to set up commissions and monitoring groups with the aim of imparting an organized nature to the working people's battle against bureaucratism and other antiperestroyka forces. And the workers have achieved a great deal since then. Most importantly, they have thoroughly shaken up the numerous official offices and forced them to be more active in solving problems. With the appearance of the law on the procedure for settling labor disputes and conflicts, however, the question arose as to whether the regulation on the workers' committee is legal. [passage omitted]

By a majority vote, the session annulled the regulation on the Workers' Committee of the Karaganda Coal Basin. Despite the support of the 130,000-strong miners' collective, the committee was stripped of its rights, though there was no one to whom its functions could be transferred. One way in which the workers' committee may continue to exist is if it is registered as a public organization. I am not going to predict how things will develop—time will tell—but the atmosphere in the mining collective remains complicated. [video shows clips from the session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies]

Abalkin Addresses Prosecutor's Office Forum

PM0412120789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4

["Own Information" report: "Conference Has Opened"]

[Text] An all-union scientific and practical conference devoted to problems of Prosecutor's Office oversight under the conditions of perestroyka and the democratization of Soviet society opened 1 December in the Marble Hall of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev opened the session with an introductory speech. V.I. Andreyev, deputy prosecutor general, delivered the report on the main avenues of the activity of the prosecutor's office and Professor I.I. Karpets, director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Problems of the Consolidation of Legality and Law and Order, covered theoretical questions of perestroyka. The conference was addressed by Academician L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Major scientists, practical workers from the law enforcement organs, responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee, and people's deputies took part in the work of the conference.

Kamalov Indictment Read at Supreme Court

LD0512165189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] The open trial of Kamalov, former first secretary of the Karakalpak Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, opened today in the USSR Supreme Court with the reading out of the indictment. He is charged with receiving and giving bribes.

The documents provided to the investigation by party bodies and checked in the correct manner, describe his activity as follows:

Over a lengthy period, Kamalov implanted disreputable forces into the leadership and committed gross violations in the selection of cadres. The materials of the preliminary investigation stress that he directed cadres toward extensive economic methods, and extortion of supplementary capital investments from the state without concern for the return on them. Labor productivity in industry fell, says the indictment statement. The capacities that had been brought in were not mastered. In agriculture, R22 billion invested in the branch in 1976-1983 did not yield an increase in the final output. Some 36,000 hectares went out of agricultural use. Up to 30% of the area sown to cotton and a quarter of the rice were concealed from the record. There was mass embezzlement of socialist property and squandering of state funds, and violations of law and order and of legality were committed.

"Profiting from his responsible official position and his kinship ties with Rashidov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and for selfish motives, Kamalov received bribes on many occasions from his subordinates and officials of the Karakalpak Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, who depended on him for patronage, support in their work, and help in solving economic and other issues, says the material of the preliminary investigation.

From 1973 to 1984, the indictment says, he received bribes in money and industrial goods worth R105,850. At the same time, on several occasions he bribed superiors for their patronage and support in his work and for helping with positive decisions in official, personal, and other questions.

During the preliminary investigations, Kamalov pleaded guilty to receiving bribes to the whole extent of the charges laid, and made a detailed deposition.

Voronezh Gang Leader Sentenced to Death

PM2711135789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Komov dispatch under the rubric "From the Courtroom: "The Doctor with the Grenade Launcher"]

[Text] The trial of a dangerous, well-organized, armed gang has finished in Voronezh.

A few months ago, I saw an impressive "collection" of weapons in the oblast administration of internal affairs: a grenade launcher, a light machinegun, a pistol with a silencer, various explosive devices, and stores of cartridges and TNT charges.

And there were objects of another kind: a rubber suit, scuba diving equipment, flippers, a map of Leningrad Oblast, drawings of the layout of an AN-2 aircraft, and an English-language textbook... All this was discovered when a group of young people headed by a pleasant 6th-grade medical student, A. Zapevalov, was detained and searched. S. Berdnikov was "in charge" of the gang's weapons, and O. Mosichev was in charge of its other belongings.

Gradually, during a judicial investigation which lasted over a month, it became increasingly clear that this was not a case of dangerous "collecting" games but of well-organized gang activity. Once their training (cynically called a "course for the young fighter") was over and when they had mastered Oriental unarmed combat and carried out specified robberies of citizens and jewelry stores, its members decided to try to get across the border.

They worked out several options: by water, using the scuba diving equipment; by hijacking an aircraft; or by forcing their way across the border using violence. They stocked up with weapons and tested them. After careful preparation, Zapevalov left for Moscow, where with the help of N. Andreyeva, the informant and sister of one of the members of the group, he found his way to the designated apartment, killed two women, and stole R10,000 and valuables from them...

The trial took place under the chairmanship of M. Nesterov, member of the Russian Soviet Federated Republic Supreme Court. The state prosecutor was Counselor of Justice Third Class N. Bezryadin, oblast assistant prosecutor.

...The members of the criminal group behaved in a relaxed manner at the trial. They exchanged remarks and asked questions. The leader even protested angrily to the chairman that the mass media had "mounted a campaign of persecution against a harmless group." And at another session Zapevalov suddenly remembered God and asked for a priest. He also recalled God in his last speech, when he talked profusely about "man rising to moral self-purification."

Four of the gang members had no employment and three had a criminal record. They saw themselves as people for whom everything was permitted. They substantiated their "ideological" basis for this with quotes from philosophical works. The leader tried to make a brilliant display of erudition to the court. And he did not hide his evil stance as a "superman" to whom nothing is forbidden.

On 20 November the court condemned A. Zapevalov to the highest form of punishment—the death sentence. S. Berdnikov was sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment and O. Mosichev to 5 years at an intensified-regime correctional labor colony, and their property was confiscated. N. Andreyeva was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment at a general-regime correctional labor colony and her property was confiscated. Three other members of the criminal group were given various sentences.

Economic

'Initiative Center' Called 'Experimental Economy'

PM0712170789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 89 p 1

[Interview with A.N. Gekov, chief of the New Economic Management Methods Department of Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Executive Committee Main Economic Planning Administration, by correspondent O. Utesheva: "Initiative Is Nonpunishable!"; date, place not given; first three paragraphs are KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The "Socialist Initiative Center" state science-and-production association has been created in Kemerovo Oblast.

The new association's statutes state that its task is to perform "antistagnation" functions, carry out economic-law experiments, and introduce progressive economic management methods.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Gekov, chief of the New Economic Management Methods Department of Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom] Main Economic Planning Administration, talks with our correspondent about what the Socialist Initiative Center is.

[Gekov] An innovative economy must legally exist alongside the basic economy. We now need to increase labor productivity 10-15 times. How are we to make the breakthrough if the production capital and technology are insufficient to build up to such a high pace?

There are no enterprises in the basic economy which would engage only in innovative activity and the introduction of new technology. We have attempted to fill this gap by creating the Socialist Initiative Center, which will work constantly in a regime of economic-law experiments.

[Utesheva] Do you believe that the emergence of one association, albeit a new one, can appreciably change the state of affairs as a whole?

[Gekov] Just so. We decided to realize an interesting idea of the All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] oblast committee: To create a state economically accountable science-and-production association with all the corresponding rights and to lease it to the oblast committee for 30 years.

As is known, Komsomol enterprises enjoy a number of privileges. They are free from planning and accountability. We reckoned that the association would be able to develop intensively, having the advantages of a state enterprise and a public organization.

[Utesheva] It is a nontraditional situation: The oblispolkom, which has power, turns to the Komsomol in order to influence the economy....

[Gekov] The young people succeeded in proving the viability of the idea, and we adopted it. Moreover, the Komsomol is now experiencing a serious crisis, and I think this is a good opportunity for it....

The young people have been granted full independence and freedom of action. The Socialist Initiative Center enterprises are corporate bodies and have accounts at the USSR State Bank. They can organize joint ventures here and abroad, carry on trade, open new enterprises, and perform patenting and licensing work.

It really is a question of an experimental economy existing in parallel with the basic economy and driving it on.

[Utesheva] You have freed the association from managerial diktat, which is such a burden for any enterprise, precisely because you have an interest in the results of its innovative activity. But will the Komsomol itself not limit this activity by using economic pressure, for example?

[Gekov] That is impossible. The Socialist Initiative Center pays out nothing to anyone—neither to the oblispolkom nor to the Komsomol oblast committee. Its rental is expressed "in kind"—in the form of fulfilling orders which come from the Komsomol oblast committee or the oblispolkom. We act in concert. These could be youth programs or any promising developments.

We are counting on a serious contribution to the economy. It is a question not of brokering or of ways of making a quick profit but of encouraging an efficient economy.

[Utesheva] So, as far as I understand it, the enterprises that come within the association exist on terms of full economic accountability and self-financing, production questions are resolved independently by the collective of each one of them, and part of the funds earned by them go to finance ventures that are useful to the oblast.

[Gekov] Yes, this is their rental. In this way we not only obtain a material base for innovation but, most importantly, we have an opportunity to create a kind of bank of information and initiatives, a multiprofile enterprise capable of attracting any specialists and resolving comprehensive intersector tasks, both economic and social ones.

Foreign Economic Program Discussed, Criticized

90UI0173A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by L. Skoptsov, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent: "We Are Not the First..."]

[Text] We are entering a crisis situation. This was talked about at a session on foreign economic relations of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference.

Not one good word was said about the government program. There was not the slightest ray of hope in the forecasts for tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. Yet there was no feeling of futility and doom. Is this accidental? I think not. The thinking of the experts on the world economy are to no small degree blinded by the dogmas of the political economy of stagnant socialism. World experience prompts them: Such sicknesses can be treated; there are tried methods. In the meantime, the creators of the government concept consider themselves pioneers. But there is a well-trodden path nearby. And this fact, it seems to me, infused an optimistic spirit in the heated criticisms at the conference.

The tone of the work—critical and at the same time constructive—was set by I. Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission (GVK) of the USSR Council of Ministers. The outlines of a new mechanism of foreign economic relations, he said, are being submitted to the court of public opinion. They can in no way be viewed as the ultimate truth. On the contrary, they must be subjected to fault-finding expert analysis. The speaker then and there criticized one of the keystones of official economic policy—the program of emergency measures:

We are troubled by the fact that we are talking about the open nature of the Soviet economy and about integration into the international trade system, but that in practice we are beginning to isolate ourselves from this system. The program of emergency measures virtually locks the Soviet market in on itself. Everything is removed from export, and everything is hung on imports. As a result, the indebtedness of the country increases. The de facto indebtedness is already viewed as a source of economic growth. As a reason for the country to live better than it works. It is not possible to continue this way for long.

Here is one more sore point—new legislation. Laws are engendered, Ivanov believes, that do not correspond to pertinent international law. That is why they evoke criticism and bewilderment abroad. Foreign investors cannot invest their money in our economy without proper material guarantees. This means that it is necessary, as is accepted throughout the civilized world, to develop a law on collateral. Property, including real estate, should become an object of collateral. The GVK submitted appropriate plans twice to the USSR Supreme Soviet. However, as previously, there is no mention of either collateral or real estate in the draft new laws. There is no opportunity for building an active credit system. There are no conditions for foreign investments in our economy.

Strategy of Impoverishment

What is the world market to us? Does foreign trade ruin us or enrich us?

It is from this angle that specialists analyzed the very strategy of the development of foreign economic relations. Government documents here set high goals. It is assumed that by the year 2000 the physical volume of export will increase by a factor of 2.5 in comparison with 1988. Imports correspondingly will increase less—by a factor of two. The development of the machinebuilding complex should ensure a growth in foreign supplies of machines and equipment by a factor of six. Thus, it is planned to deliver a serious blow to the raw materials export structure.

If the wind of success fills the sails of this strategic program—that is, if everything is bought that we hope to sell, and if everything that we want to buy is sold at prices that are favorable to us—then by the year 2000 we will come... to such a crisis that today's problems will seem trifling. Foreign indebtedness will reach more than 300 billion gold rubles. To service the debt we will have to spend 86 percent of currency gains. And this is in the best case. If it is assumed that the ambitious export plans of machinebuilding remain as plans (even if the quality of the entire building nomenclature attains the world standard, our sales on the world market will grow by a maximum factor of four) then the cumulative debt will exceed 381 million foreign currency rubles, and to service it will require an expenditure of 116 percent of currency gains. Only one thing is left—to reduce imports. If their level is frozen, then by the year 2000 it will be possible to maintain more acceptable positions: Debt on the order of R72 billion and a servicing norm of 30 percent of currency gains. The given calculations performed in the Institute of World Economics and International Relations [IMEMO] were presented by M. Yershov, an official of IMEMO.

Our economy is very sick, and one of its ailments is an excessive import appetite. Import needs to lay a heavy burden on export and preserve its backward structure. Therefore, import replacement must become a priority in the near term.

A. Syzov, another IMEMO official, supported this same position. Not to consider the potentialities of an economic organism means rendering it lifeless. The status of our industry, he contended, is so lamentable that to increase the degree of processing of export products is simply ruinous. Thus, in 1988 we sold our crude oil at a price on the average of 68 foreign currency rubles per ton. But a ton of petroleum products was cheaper by five foreign currency rubles(!) It turns out that we are not only polluting our nature with such oil refining, but we are even paying the West an additional two or three billion of our dollars annually. The situation is even worse with machine equipment products. If we are to change the ruble rate of exchange and get rid of the system of direct and indirect subsidies, then not only will machine construction export not increase, but it will decrease. Because, according to data of the MVES [Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations], only 12-14 percent of the machines we export are in line with foreign counterparts, and we sell 60-62 percent to ourselves at a loss. Therefore, the basis of our exports will still continue to be raw materials.

Supporting this line of analysis, I. Lavrovskiy of the Power Engineering Research Institute said that we do not have the domestic technical resources to reequip the national economy. It is necessary to identify priority spheres and create special conditions for the strong, and not continue to help and save the weak. We have only one strong sector—resources, our traditional export base. But if we do not pull up the technological level of the basic branches, we will lose colossal sums of money here as previously. Is it possible to invest gigantic resources in the gas-processing complexes of Western Siberia when in terms of labor productivity we lag behind the United States in the extraction of oil and gas by a factor of three to five? Any effect in processing will be eaten up.

In I. Lavrovskiy's view, the way out is to establish breakthrough zones and zones of international cooperation in raw materials regions. And introduce into these zones a full set of all instruments of international cooperation—local convertibility of the ruble and floating prices for everything, from bread to meat to manpower, and the competition of domestic and foreign enterprises. Huge investments, already placed in the raw materials branches, will give a much greater return in the zones than they are giving now. This then will be the capital for restructuring the economy as a whole.

"To say that we should not trade in irreplaceable resources is an absurdity from an economic standpoint. Because there is another irreplaceable resource—human life, and we must not endlessly put off the resolution of the elementary economic problems of our citizens." I would like to especially emphasize this thought of the speaker.

Will the West Help Us?

"The success of reform depends on us alone," Professor M. Maksimova declared. "But the periods of its realization will drag out over many years if we do not rely on broad ties with the West. We cannot fall into debt. Therefore, we must open the doors wide to foreign productive capital. Now practically all countries resort to this practice—both the developed and developing countries."

Professor Maksimova recalled that in the near future a significant outflow of skilled manpower and intellectual workers from the USSR is expected. An influx of major foreign investments can restrain the "brain drain" and the outflow of skilled personnel. Therefore, restrictions on foreign capital have to be lifted to the maximum, and it must be given both legal guarantees and the support of the government. Everything must be utilized: Joint enterprises, concessions, technological policy, and free economic zones....

But it is hardly likely that foreign capital will rush to the USSR if the West is not convinced that economic reform will take place. A precise and clear, legally approved program is needed that demonstrates that we firmly intend to move to an economy of an open type and to integrate it fully in the world economy. This is not only a purely economic, but also a major foreign policy task. The authors of the concept of economic reform—whether they wanted this or not—proceed, according to the idea of the speaker, from the concept of a future Soviet economy as a locked and closed system.

So it turns out that we are declaring one model in the foreign policy arena—a competitive economy of an open type, and another inside the country—an autarchic one.

It should be said that no one disputed M. Maksimova's position. The specialists know very well that the first cause of all shortages is a shortage of capital. There are practically no sources for the accumulation of capital in the country: The peasantry is ruined and mineral resources are depleted. Whether one likes this or not, we will have to entice foreign capital into the country. Exactly, to entice, because the illusions of some national interest zealots that someone is trying to buy us are illusions.

"We conducted calculations on free economic zones of 26 countries," G. Shirokov, an official of the Oriental Studies Institute, reported to the conference. "It turns out that to attract a unit of capital, four to five units of our own capital will have to be spent in these zones. China is a rather typical example. In order to attract $4 billion, the free zones had to spend 22 billion of their own money on the infrastructure and various other economic needs."

The wretchedness of our infrastructure—both industrial and social—scares off Western investors. Many talked about this. But virtually the most convincing evidence of this was the data on joint enterprises. As reported by I. Faminskiy, director of the VNII [All-Union Scientific Research Institute] for foreign economic relations under the TVK [presumably GVK], more than half of the 1,077 SP's [joint enterprises] registered at the time of the conference are based in Moscow because only in Moscow are there tolerable living conditions and a way of life for foreign entrepreneurs.

As before, the initiative in joint enterprises lies with the Western side. On our side, there is no economic interest in joint business undertakings. The managers have a specific interest: To conduct negotiations as long as possible, to travel abroad on this pretext... but not to set up enterprises! Profit does not excite our production workers—they have enough of their own money. Foreign technologists only create the threat of competition. Regional authorities also get nothing from the creation of SP's, except problems and troubles.

Therefore, an aggressive state policy is needed to attract foreign capital.

"It is not enough to invite foreign capital and inform business circles in the West about our priority spheres," said I. Artemyev, an IMEMO sector chief, continuing this train of thought. "The times have passed when states were only vying with transnational corporations. Now all countries are competing for foreign capital. We also must have a state program for such competition. Of course, we must give guarantees to foreign investors to compensate their investments in the event of nationalization or some other losses. Otherwise, they will not come to us.

Our Trumps

The world market has everything. So it is not enough to want to sell one's goods—it is important that someone desires to buy them. This kind of a situation is absolutely unfamiliar to our economic managers, who grew up in the advantageous setup of a universal shortage. B. Martinson, general director of the Riga PO [production association] "Radiotekhnika," is not a novice on the world market. He knows well what kinds of commodities are expected from us. In all negotiations on joint enterprises, raw materials are mentioned first and foremost as compensation—both primary and secondary. In those cases when it will perish in our country and is not being processed, it is certainly more advantageous to sell it.

The second group of export commodities (and many conference participants will agree with this) is manpower. Its greatest virtue is that it is cheap even in comparison with the developing countries. It is not without reason that Soviet freight has no competitors in the maritime business. But then "Radiotekhnika" tried to engage in "maintenance and repair technology"—this is a pure sale of manpower—when everything broke down because of a lack of guarantees; it was disadvantageous for the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity to give guarantees. But without guarantees, Western banks also will refuse to finance a business deal.

The whole world trades in industrial products. We should also base our exports on them. But they are not waiting for our commodities. They even have the the Baltic eel, which has traditionally been considered a Latvian commodity. Therefore, we go there with our products as petitioners, and we pay Western merchants for trying to sell our brands that are not known to anyone. But you cannot enter a market in any other way.

The fourth group of commodities is technology. The whole world is ready to buy our technology, even though it still does not believe that we can offer anything. Everyone remembers that we sold continuous steel casting at the beginning and that we are integrating it here to this day.

A higher group of commodities are the intellectual products: Programs, patents, licenses.... It is well-known that science in the Soviet Union, especially basic science, is rather strong. Here, objects for trade can be found. Unfortunately, V. Martinson noted, we do not know how to trade in these products.

Thus, the country does have potential. But V. Grigoryev, an adviser in the USSR MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], warns that the foreign trade factor can become not an engine, but a brake on our development. The practice of governmental agreements can constitute a special danger here. The next 5-year agreement with Finland has already been signed. Other agreements are coming up. They will tie up 60-70 percent of the export deliveries of the country. In the final analysis, we will find ourselves squeezed between domestic and foreign problems. Because today the national government can assume international obligations, but tomorrow the republics can refuse to fulfill them.

Obligations to the CEMA partner countries worry many. The transfer ruble has died and national currencies are not convertible. Socialist countries more and more frequently demand payment for their commodities with hard currency. It is also time for us to switch to deliveries for hard currency, many voices could be heard saying.

"Enterprises and branches are not interested in trading with CEMA," said V. Shastitko, deputy director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, who concurred in this position. This means that in a mutual commodity turnover, the socialist countries (and this is 60 percent of them) will be hit hard; what they are selling and buying today for transfer rubles, they will not sell and buy for hard currency.

Their economies will immediately run aground. We must understand that in our country, besides the political obligations, we also have moral obligations to these countries. Therefore, V. Shastitko said, it is important to create a mechanism that would guarantee them a gradual transition to the new conditions: Payment in hard currency and at world prices.

Discussion Is Necessary

The section on foreign economic relations worked under very difficult conditions. The time limit at first was cut to 10 minutes, and then to five minutes. Despite all of the tactfulness and democracy of the section head, the speeches inevitably turned out to be rushed. In my opinion, a brain storm did not materialize. Therefore, it was not possible to resolve the overriding task of the All-Union Scientific-Practical Conference—to consolidate the ranks of the supporters of reform. Even more disagreements resulted.

Professor S. Dzarasov, a long-standing author and friend of our newspaper, said straightforwardly that such all-union conferences are not needed. Others are needed, real discussion conferences, where everyone would be heard and where there would be time to argue. A competition of workers and programs is needed. There is a need for unlimited criticism.

The selection of a way is too important a matter to be led by those in a hurry. I would like to cite a wise expression of Francis Bacon, philosopher and chancellor, who opened up the world to new thinking. He noted somehow that a lame, decrepit horse that is feverishly traveling the right road is always closer to the desired objective than a spirited stallion who is not on the same road.

Fishing Industry Management Criticized

LD1011225789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] A session of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee took place today. Our correspondent, Vladimir Korablev, to whom I will now hand over, was present.

[Korablev] Probably no Party Control Committee session has ever taken place in such acute and principled conditions as today's. A very serious issue concerning the irresponsible attitudes of certain communist managers in the Ministry of Fish Industry and the USSR Ministry of Trade in supplying the population with fish products was examined. As a result of a check by a commission of the Party Control Committee it was revealed that, over the nine months of this year, supplies to the country's shops of fish products were short by about 500,000 tonnes. At the same time, the managers of the Ministry of Fish Industry, to the detriment of the interests of millions of consumers, showed irresponsibility by issuing to various organizations and departments more than 260 licenses to sell more than 430,000 tonnes of fish, canned fish, and other sea products abroad. The managers of the Ministry of Fish Industry have been brought strictly to account within the party for gross breaches of state discipline, connected to the disruption of supplies of fish products to the population, and for the uncontrolled issuing of licenses.

It would seem that one could end here, but I want to continue the conversation about today's session of the Party Control Committee with Boris Karlovich Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee politburo and chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee.

Boris Karlovich, the matter which was examined today by the Party Control Committee does not, evidently, concern only the supply of the population with fish products. It needs to be examined more widely. What way out of this situation can be found, for this matter is political and it is necessary to solve it as soon as possible.

[Pugo] Well, you are completely right, a situation really has come about in which today there is a shortage both of food products and of goods in the non-food group. Speaking about the fact that this matter was a topic of discussion today by the Party Control Committee, it was of course necessary to look at it more widely. The task of the Party Control Committee consists of attracting the attention of managers at all levels, of all ranks, toward the necessity of relating more conscientiously to their duties. It is necessary to be more demanding toward oneself and to those below. The point is that considerably better control from all sides, both from above and, particularly importantly, from below, must be organized.

[Korablev] During today's session I heard more than once in your speech, and in a number of speeches by members of the Party Control Committee, that the level of responsibility of communist managers has fallen. Well, many people are interested by this question: What measures will be taken by the Party Control Committee toward communist managers, namely those managers who make such serious errors?

[Pugo] Measures of party influence remain the main measures, that is the awarding of appropriate party punishment for breaches of norms of conduct, lack of discipline and for breaches of state discipline. Apart from this, well, let's say, at today's Party Control Committee we took the decision that the communist managers of the Ministry of Fish Industry should examine the question of the fitness for the position occupied of one of the heads of the administration of the Ministry of Fish Industry. This is one further measure. Finally, we have the right, which we use fairly frequently, when we see that a breach goes beyond the framework of breaches let's say of the party's statutes, that a breach of laws is going on, then we often give our materials to the public prosecutor's office and other bodies in order that those who break the norms can be punished in accordance with the law.

[Korablev] Nevertheless, in what way is it possible to raise the responsiblity of communist managers?

[Pugo] I think that nevertheless one of the most important measures must be measures connected to genuinely increasing the role of primary party organizations, so that every manager should feel responsibility to his primary party organization. We very often lack precisely the effective work of this grassroots link. And of course it is necessary to increase the responsibility of all other links in our party and increase the responsibility of communist managers of all levels. Today there is probably simply no need for proof that very strict demands wil be made, and are already being made.

Agricultural

'Clumsy' Handling Impedes Farm Export Drive

PM0712151189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[V. Gavrichkin article: "Grain for Hard Currency, or Why Peasants Are in No Hurry to Avail Themselves of Their Access to the External Market"]

[Text] Selling our grain for hard currency.... You will agree, it even sounds strange. This is because, when it comes to hard currency, we are more used to using it to buy other people's grain. Nonetheless, let me recall: By its resolution of 8 August 1989, the USSR Council of Ministers authorized our collective farms [kolkhozes], state farms [sovkhozes], and other agricultural enterprises to sell hard (graded) and strong wheat to the state for freely convertible currency at average prices of R60 per tonne, valuable varieties of wheat at R40 per tonne, peas and lupine at R80 per tonne, and oil crop (sunflower, soybeans, rape, bigseed falseflax, and mustard) seed at R90 per tonne.

Let's leave aside for the moment the detail that this decision, adopted under pressure from people's deputies, is described as an experiment and applies only to output sold over and above average annual levels achieved in past years. What is important is that for the first time our peasants have been given the opportunity to earn hard currency instead of the "worthless" rubles, which are in reality practically not backed by goods, and this gives them free access to the foreign market to buy all they need there. In turn, access to the most up-to-date equipment and technology should, in theory, also create a qualitatively new situation inside the country: After all, enterprises working for the agro-industrial complex will now, in vying with foreign firms, sense, if not fully feel the brunt of the cut-throat competition for consumers.

At first it seemed that although this decision was adopted rather late—the grain harvest was in full swing and in a number of grain-growing areas is was drawing to a close—kolkhozes and sovkhozes fully appreciated the opportunity with which they had been provided. Farmers in the Don region, for instance, seemed to have the most serious of intentions. They sold 3.5 million tonnes of grain to the state this year (against the state order of 3.1 million tonnes) and 550,000 tonnes of sunflower seed (against the state order of 522,000 tonnes). They had plenty to offer the "Eksportkhleb" [grain export association]! The oblast agroindustrial association experts quickly worked out that farms would be able to earn R60 millions' worth of foreign currency.

But what can you buy for that sort of money? This question, which is of considerable importance for the peasants, remained unanswered for a long time, and consequently they did not rush into foreign currency deals, our correspondent V. But from Rostov-na-Donu reports. When finally the list of what was on offer arrived, everyone's eyes popped out—machines that they had been dreaming about, production lines for processing agricultural produce and producing virtually unobtainable construction materials, refrigeration plant and other equipment, consumer goods....

"Naturally, first of all we looked at the prices," G. Mosintsev, chairman of the "Pobeda" kolkhoz in Tselinskiy Rayon, relates. "And we put our heads together. For instance, equipment for a sausage production shop costs R800,000 in foreign currency, a refrigerator would come to R1 million or R1.5 million. Would it not be better," I thought, "to convert the foreign currency into our own money? We offered the 'Eksportkhleb' 600,000 tonnes of grain, for which we will receive less that R40,000. That won't go far. Should we pool our resources with other farms? But after all, we need production facilities for our kolkhoz, rather than another giant processing combine.... So that upshot is that it is not advantageous for us to sell grain for hard currency: We can get 278 of "our" rubles per tonne, and in foreign currency R40 for valuable and R60 for strong grain. The state price for sunflower seed simply bears no comparison with the foreign currency price. What's the use of trade like this?"

A. Fedkova, head of the Millerovskiy branch of the Agroprombank, cited another aspect responsible for the lack of confidence:

"Farm leaders are saying: If the accounts are settled through our bank, we are prepared to enter into deals. However, if the foreign currency is kept in Moscow, at the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, we would regard this as unreliable, you know.... We have raised the question of authorization to conduct the necessary accounting operations ourselves. To no avail, so far."

It is true, as V. Sheyko, deputy chairman of the oblast agro-industrial association believes, hoping for a positive outcome, that it is too early to draw a line. This will become necessary sometime in December. All this is correct. However, the fact remains that in the oblast as a whole 100 tonnes of sunflower seed, 128 tonnes of peas, and 4,620 tonnes of wheat have been sold for hard currency. The prices are known and therefore it is easy to work out that the total is in the region of a quarter of a million rubles. The target, as we remember, was some R60 million.

Maybe this only applies to the Don? Hardly. At the Ukrainian Ministry of Grain Products our Kiev correspondent N. Baklanov was told that produce totaling R286,000 in foreign currency was "declared" for sale by farms in Odessa, Zaporozhye, Ivano-Frankovsk, Vinnitsa, Kirovograd, Cherkassy, Kharkov, and Poltava Oblasts. A pittance! In the Kuban, according to information obtained at the grain product administration by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Dergachev, only 13,000 tonnes of wheat and 590 tonnes of sunflower seed have been stored to be sold for hard currency. But even these figures need verification—an investigation is under way to establish whether this grain has really been procured "over and above the annual average" achieved in recent years. In short, this matter is subject to a lot of red-tape and is becoming "paper-heavy."

"In Altay Kray many farms began to deliver grain in the 'hard currency' category before having grasped the essence of the experiment, simply on the promise: You will have your own hard currency which you will be able to spend on 'anything you like made abroad,'" our correspondent M. Kurgalina has cabled.

Snow has covered the fields, and most farm leaders still know no more about the results of the experiment than when they first started delivering the grain. Wherever there is a lack of information, rumors abound. This is why V. Ponomarenko, director of the "Zakladnenskiy" sovkhoz, is worried:

"Some people are saying that it will not be possible to convert the foreign currency back into rubles. What will happen if I am unable to buy foreign goods, either because I do not have enough foreign currency, or because I do not like what is on offer, but I need money for construction work, for instance? That would be like earning it and then getting nothing...."

It would be wrong to be surprised at the naivete of questions of this kind. Even on the renowned Stavropol "Kozminskiy" kolkhoz, where average yields of 50 quintals have been achieved and 5,000 tonnes of highest grade wheat have been sold over and above the state order, no one is breaking his neck to get to the foreign currency.

"We decided at a council meeting that there was no reason to convert all the above-plan grain into foreign currency," kolkhoz chairman A. Shumskiy told our correspondent V. Oliyanchuk. And the reasons for this? The same lack of confidence and information. What will we buy and for how much? Who will help us find partners and establish cooperation? Where and on what terms should we keep our foreign currency? Will it not be frittered away through various superstructure apparatuses taking their "cuts"...? There are dozens of questions. It may not sound very nice, but the game that is being played with foreign currency is a game in the dark. The necessary publicity and a clear procedure for concluding deals are lacking.

The situation as regards foreign currency operations is no better. "Why," the peasants are asking, "is the bank refusing to pay interest on foreign currency deposits?" Interest in doing work that provides access to the currency market must be stable; without this it will be impossible to overcome our economic isolation.

Stavropol farmers are in a position to earn at least 17 million foreign currency rubles. However, only R2 millions' worth of produce has been submitted for sale. One explanation is that not all the people have as yet worked out where they stand, not everyone has summed up the results of his own harvest. However, that is not the main reason. People are above all put off by the prices, which are considerably lower than those which our state pays for buying the same products abroad.

"I do not agree," O. Klimov, head of the "Eksportkhleb" argues. "Last year, for instance, the average purchasing price per tonne totaled 67.5 foreign currency rubles. You can see that the difference is negligible."

All this is true, as it were. But it is not the whole truth. Therefore we must work out what we can buy on the world market and for how much (distortions and misunderstandings in this respect frequently arise because people are confusing foreign currency rubles with dollars. I will explain: In order to obtain the dollar equivalent, it is necessary to multiply the sum of our foreign currency rubles by a factor of 1.65—V.G.) The average price of 67.5 foreign currency rubles has been worked out on the basis of all grain purchases excluding hulled crops. Wheat costs more—R71-72 per tonne. (That again applies to all the grain. As to the price of wheat for human consumption—it is not known, although what we are buying from our own peasants today is in the main wheat for human consumption.) It would also be justified to add shipping costs—totaling R14-15—to the price. The upshot is: We have spent R85-86 per tonne, rather than R65.5. [last figure as published]

Even that is not all. A year ago, the United States, for instance, gave us as a major client a rebate of $30-35 on the market price of some $170, and EEC countries gave us an even bigger deduction—$70 from the full price of $190-200. However, the market is the market. Grain is becoming more expensive. This year we have managed to "negotiate" with the United States, for instance, only an $8 rebate. In other words, we have been forced to pay out some $160, or in the region of 97 foreign currency rubles per tonne of wheat. (On top of that don't forget the shipping costs!).

And so it emerges that we are proceeding in the spirit of the worst traditions of the times of stagnation: We set our farmers fixed prices which do not take account of price fluctuations on the world market, and to hell with everything else. In short, we transform the living mechanism of trade into something as dead as a door nail. We even try to subject the market to directives.

It is true, as has been claimed, that the state does not demand the 30-percent levy from our peasants. However, this money has been taken out of their pockets in advance. Under last year's prices we are underpaying for their wheat, for instance, by between 30 and 53 percent, and under the current year's prices by between 38 and 60 percent.

So this is what this rather involved calculation looks like. Look at it from whatever angle you like, the result you get is never in favor of our peasant.

However, the peasant today is quite capable of doing his sums. He has done them and... is in no hurry to conquer the famed foreign market. Various preliminary, highly promising figures on domestic purchases of grain for foreign currency have already made their appearance in the press. They are all incorrect. I will cite the true figure: To date only 10,000 tonnes of grain have been paid for in foreign currency to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. True, this is not the final figure. However, it is mid-November already and therefore there are no grounds to assume that the peasants' foreign currency accounts will run into hundreds of millions.

Furthermore, it is obvious that these millions are not even available. This year's grain purchases abroad already total some 45 million tonnes—almost a fourth of our own harvest! We are rapidly approaching the figure which at one time marked the sad record for this type of purchase. At the same time, we are paying the foreign farmer generously, while with our own peasants we are tight-fisted.

Despite this I am confident that, even at today's prices, our farms would not hold back, that they would deliver the grain even at this price. But they do not know what to do with the foreign currency. The goods price lists distributed at local level are, in principle, a good idea; but at the same time also a useless one. They only serve to frighten people. The Rostov kolkhoz chairman mentioned earlier a sausage production shop costing 800,000. Simply unaffordable. It is beyond our chairman's comprehension that there are no State Committees for Prices, no State Committees for Standards in foreign countries, that everything is dictated by demand. The result is having a choice: If 800,000 is too expensive, you look for something cheaper, and on top of that it is possible to bargain. Recently, at an international fair in the Netherlands, I saw for myself this incredibly large choice, I took note of the prices, and I can vouch for the fact that any of the chairmen could have bought there for 100,000 not just a sausage production shop, but a real beauty. Instead of that they have been supplied with a price list compiled by I don't know whom, on the basis of I don't know what principle. Moreover, peasants have little faith in something that has been compiled by an indifferent official. Being able to see for themselves at a fair, being able to touch and, if that is not enough, to actually see things functioning, to be able to compare, and then to have different options as to how to settle the account—is a different matter. However, with rare exceptions, they are unlikely to travel abroad for this purpose, and as for middlemen able to understand their needs—they have not existed in our country in the past and they do not exist yet.

In short, this is a good venture, but as always we are tackling it clumsily, without initiative, and as if we were not in earnest.

Scientific

Activities Continue Aboard 'Mir' Space Station

Further Details on 'Kvant-2' Redocking

LD0812183489 Moscow TASS in English 1704 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 8 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Rena Kuznetsova:

A new responsible phase in the Kvant-2 module's work in space was successfully accomplished today: It redocked at its workplace—one of lateral docking assemblies of the basic unit—by means of manipulators.

The module was launched into a near-earth orbit by a Proton booster rocket on November 26 and docked with the manned orbital complex Mir on December 6.

As a result, the aggregate mass of the orbital complex Mir- Kvant-Kvant-2-Soyuz TM amounts to 63 tons. Following the re-docking, the complex's outline has begun to resemble a tall boot.

The cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, who have been working in orbit for exactly three months, looked forward to the arrival of the specialised module.

The Kvant-2 carries additional equipment that will give a considerably greater scope to the research programme.

The module is provided with an air-lock chamber for the cosmonauts' egress into open space and with everything necessary for their work there.

The Kvant-2 also delivered a "space bicycle", an installation for the cosmonaut's autonomous movement. The module also has stocks of water, fuel and food.

The module's launch time was changed twice. In April the date was changed because of a delay in the module's manufacturing. In mid-September it was changed because the "Kurs" (course) system, which was to ensure the module's delivery to a pre-set orbit and its rendezvois with the orbital station, developed a malfunction in individual elements during ground tests.

Thorough factory check-ups and testing were needed before specialists were sure that the renovated automatic docking system was ready for operation.

After the launch small problems persisted. It was discovered that one of the panels of a solar-cell battery did not open fully.

The docking, originally scheduled for December 2, was then postponed until December 6.

First U.S. Experiment Aboard 'Mir'

LD0712103389 Moscow TASS in English 1018 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] New York December 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sitov:

In another sign of increasing superpower cooperation, the United States plans to carry out its first space research programme aboard the Soviet Mir space station on December 20, according to Anthony Arrot, president of the U.S. Payloads System Company, who helped push through the idea.

This is a strictly commercial all-American venture, Arot told TASS, explaining that it was not a joint venture.

Payloads systems struck a deal with Soviet Licensintorg and Glavkosmos foreign trade firms to carry its payload into orbit on the progress booster from the Baykonur launching paid in Soviet Kazakhstan, he said.

The experiment will take three months to complete. The Soviet space station was chosen precisely because of the duration of the research programme—the Mir station is still the only permanent space lab in orbit, he said.

Preparations for the experiment were carried out during seven flights of U.S. space shuttles.

The experiments aim to grow protein crystals during prolonged periods of microgravitation, according to Payloads Systems. So far only several hundred out of thousands of existing proteins have been crystallised.

Microgravitation enables the crystallisation of more proteins, and the resulting crystals are bigger and have a better form, company officials said.

The research will offer many promising spin-offs for medicine, biotechnology, chemistry and metallurgy.

Payloads Systems is so far the only U.S. company with an export licence allowing it to conduct research on the Soviet space station.

The firm has already reserved six three-month-long periods on the space station during the next four years.

Japanese Group Buys 'Mir', 'Kvant' Stations

OW1212032089 Tokyo KYODO in English 0256 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Tokyo, Dec. 12 KYODO—A Japanese trading firm confirmed Tuesday it has purchased a space station from the Soviet Union for 10 million dollars with the aim of boosting Japan's space industry.

Soviet sources described the decision to sell the station to Japan as a concrete move to promote future cooperation in space research between Japan and the Soviet Union. The sale follows a deal early this year to allow a Japanese journalist aboard a Soviet space flight in 1991.

The Horie Group, a private trading firm specializing in the space industry, took possession of the Mir space station and the accompanying Kvant experimental science module Monday. The craft is one of three space stations in the Mir series.

The company intends to make the craft available to the Japanese space industry to promote research. It has no immediate plans to launch the craft.

The Soviet space station and module had been on display at the World Design Expo '89 in the central city of Nagoya.

Soviet officials began hinting at a possible sale starting in September, Horie officials said, despite having refused previous offers for the station during exhibitions in France and Canada. The two sides cemented the purchase agreement October 26.

Horie has invited several officials from the Soviet space program to Japan to foster industry ties in recent months, and the company's president, Yutaka Horie, toured space facilities in the Soviet Union this summer.

The Mir space station and Kvant module are identical to the Soviet craft launched in February 1986 and now orbiting the earth. Soviet cosmonauts set new records for continuous time in space in late 1988, leaving the station after more than a year aloft.

A third station used for training exists in addition to the exhibition and operating models, but cannot be actually used.

Living areas on the Mir can house some six people and various hatches allow modules such as the Kvant and the spaceship Soyuz to connect with the main unit.

A Japanese television network signed an agreement with the Soviet space agency Glavkosmos in March to put a journalist aboard the orbiting Mir station sometime in 1991.

The U.S. is building the main living unit in a joint U.S., European, and Japanese space station project set to launch in the mid-1990s. Japan is investing some 300 billion yen to develop an experimental module for the station under the auspices of NASDA, the semigovernmental National Space Development Agency.

The company president, Horie, said he considered the purchase price, some 1.4 billion yen, a bargain. He said the space station will be a symbol of international cooperation in the field. A study of the station is expected to provide the Japanese space industry with valuable know-how on manned space flight, he said.

Air-Launched Small Spaceplane Proposed

907Q0025A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 89 1st Ed p 3

[Article by B. Konovalov, IZVESTIYA science columnist (Malaga-Moscow): "Into Space on Wings"]

[Text] We have already become accustomed to the shape of a rocket that takes off vertically into space. But, on the contrary, we have not yet gotten used to wings on the spacecraft "Space Shuttle" and "Buran." The rocket "Energiya," which carries "Buran," automatically seems to be some sort of a "centaur." But it looks as if the symbiosis of aviation and rocket technology will be intensified. It is possible that the classical vertical launches into space will be replaced by horizontal takeoffs, like that of aircraft.

Two years ago at the 38th Congress of the International Astronautical Federation (IAF), which was held in Great Britain, only one project of the future—the English "Hotol" [horizontal takeoff and landing]—envisioned a horizontal winged takeoff. It did not receive the support of either the European space agency, or the British government. Financial preference was given to the "Hermes" space shuttle, which is launched vertically with the help of the "Ariane-5" rocket. But the "Rolls Royce" firm has still not abandoned the "Hotol" project.

At the 40th Anniversary Congress of the IAF, which was held this year in Spain under the motto "The Next 40 Years in Space," the idea of a horizontal takeoff into space was not only preserved, but, to the contrary, it received a strong boost. FRG specialists came out with the project "Sanger," which envisions a winged takeoff. The intentions of the designers are very serious—a consortium of firms for the implementation of the project has been formed in the FRG.

A real sensation at the congress was the project proposed by the famous Soviet designer G. Lozino-Lozinskiy—manager of the work on developing the "Buran" airframe. He proposed a reusable winged rocket system, whose first stage will be the powerful Soviet aircraft "Mriya," which has already successfully transported "Buran." In the proposed project, a small spaceplane with an external tank is to be mounted in place of "Buran." Such a system would make it possible to put into a fixed orbit—at an altitude of 200 kilometers—a load of up to seven tons in a manned version and eight tons in an unmanned version. The only disposable element in this system would be the external tank. All of the remaining elements are multiple use, with all of the advantages and operational features, and reliability, of aircraft takeoffs. An air launch, of course, would require specific additional work on the "Mriya" aircraft, but then there would be a fundamental capability to launch from any geographical point on Earth, and not from rigidly fixed land-based cosmodromes. As is known, the closer the launch is to the equator, the greater is the use that can be made of the acceleration resulting from the Earth's rotation, and, other things being equal, the greater the cargo that can be put into orbit.

"We conducted a statistical analysis of American sources on cargoes placed in orbit," Gleb Yevgenyevich Lozino-Lozinskiy said to me after a report to the congress in Spain. "It turns out that until today about 90 percent of the cargoes launched into space are three tons and less. Of course, there are also heavier cargoes . But, as a rule, these are rare. This means that the system we propose could serve as a mass means of delivering cargoes to orbit. Because of this we should be for the creation of a new space system. Because now, according to American data, the cost of putting one kilogram of payload into fixed orbit (200 km) varies from $3,000 to $7,000. The proposed air launch system will make it possible to lower these costs by a factor of 5-10, and, besides, the system will be reusable! Comparative analysis shows that the system we propose is more economical than the English "Hotol" project and the West German "Sanger," but the main thing is that it can be implemented much quicker. The "Mriya" aircraft is already developed, and a lot of work has already been done on a spaceplane . The fact is that this type of vehicle was being developed back in the 1960's in the A. Mikoyan OKB [test design bureau]. It flew successfully. From the standpoint of aerodynamics, a spaceplane had been worked out. Our cosmonautics could have followed another, more economical path of development, if this project had been implemented in its time. But, alas, Marshal Grechko, who then held the post of minister of defense, categorically declared that "we will not engage in nonsense."

Lozino-Lozinskiy, despite his honorable age, is full of enthusiasm and, as the saying goes, he is obsessed by the new idea. It, unquestionably, is realistic and attractive, but it requires a critical approach. We remember very well that when the American "Space Shuttle" project was being readied, everyone talked then about the beginning of mass launches into space. Reusability was presented on this basis as an economic blessing. But in fact there are still no mass launches. From an economic standpoint, the "Space Shuttle" system was less advantageous than the traditional one-time-use rocket. Lozino-Lozinskiy refers to American data on the cost of launches into orbit. Unfortunately, we still do not have our official data on how much it costs to launch a one-kilogram payload into a fixed orbit by the Soviet series rockets "Tsyklon," "Kosmos," "Soyuz," and "Proton," but it is known that the launches are cheaper than with the help of the American systems.

Therefore, I asked Gleb Yevgenyevich outright:

"Will it be cheaper to launch a one-kilogram payload with the proposed aircraft-rocket system in comparison with the classical 'R-7' rocket (developed under the management of S.P. Korolev), or, more accurately, its modern modifications—'Soyuz' and 'Molniya'."

"No," the designer answered honestly, and he explained immediately: "The new system, of course, would be developed at current prices, but the 'R-7' was born in the 1950's, and it continues to be appraised according to a cost that was designated many years ago. For the producers, this, evidently, is unprofitable."

I had an opportunity at the congress to personally ask Yu. N. Koptev, chief of the directorate of space equipment of the USSR Ministry of General Machine Building, whether this was the case, and I requested that he assess the idea of the representatives of the USSR Ministry of the Aviation Industry in general.

"Yes, the price of the 'Soyuz' rocket is an old one," said Yuriy Nikolayevich Koptev. "But I want to say with all seriousness that there is no space equipment that would be unprofitable for the producing enterprise. No one gets very rich, but the rates of profit are no lower than in the production of any other machine building product. The cheapness of the 'Soyuz' rocket is tied to the fact that it has been perfected. The plant produced more than a thousand such rockets and, naturally, highly organized and economical production has been established there. As for an air launch into space as a whole, then it could only be welcomed if it were already implemented. A small spaceplane could replace the modern 'Soyuz' transport ships and perform other tasks. But to start its development today, there must be complete confidence that there will be a need for very intensive cargo traffic on the 'Earth-orbit-Earth' route. Thus far we do not have this confidence. Existing systems can easily handle the limited cargo traffic. Also, we should not overestimate the work that has already been done. The 'Mriya' also will require additional work, in order to become an airborne 'launch platform,' and additional work will be required on the spaceplane as well. Because the design essentially is new. Our specialists believe that there will be a need to enter a new stage in the creation of materials, load-bearing units, and control systems. Approximately the same kind of broad cooperation of the ministries will be required as was required in the development of the 'Buran.' Something or other might be used from the 'Buran,' but not everything by far. The elaboration stage will be expensive. Of course, this will not be R14 billion, as in the 'Energiya-Buran' project, but, all the same, the expenditures will be considerable. Today, under the conditions of a huge shortage of resources in the country, it is hardly likely that the USSR Supreme Soviet will agree to allocate money to a new project."

"Yuriy Nikolayevich, of course, it is good that the 'R-7' rocket was so reliable and viable, but it is far from ideal—it requires a large number of people to assemble, tests at the cosmodrome, and preparations for launch. Will it be replaced?"

"It will be. The 'Energiya-Buran' project envisioned that the lateral unit (there are four of them) of the first stage of the 'Energiya' rocket will serve as the basis for the creation of a new rocket. Such a two-stage rocket, 'Zenit,' is completing testing. Its first stage is practically the ready-made part of 'Energiya.' The 'Zenit' rocket can put a load of 12 tons into fixed orbit. It is conceived at the contemporary level of design, production, and operation, and it will gradually replace the 'Soyuz' rocket."

Yes, the spaceplane project not only has analogous competitors, but also the traditional vertical takeoff rockets. Economy would vote for the new project, if there was a realistic need for mass launches. Under current conditions, this can only be in the event that a new aircraft-rocket system becomes an international means of orbital emplacement that all countries could use. G. Lozino-Lozinskiy believes that if we are to proceed from common sense and save resources for all countries who are going into space exploration, then the aircraft-rocket system absolutely must be made international. Because it can take off from an airfield in any country, and the advantages of cooperation are apparent.

Unfortunately, the traditional opposition in rocket technology of the socialist and capitalist countries still remains a reality. To this day, political aspects impede cooperation in cosmonautics. The United States forbids the launch of satellites of any country with our rockets, if the satellites have any American components, and with the widespread cooperation in the West this is practically inevitable. The rapprochement of the sides is coming with great difficulty. It is enough to mention that the androgynous docking node, which was developed for the "Soyuz-Apollo" project, has not been used even once since 1975. We will hope that the new thinking that has seized our planet will change the situation in cosmonautics as well.

In conclusion, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the aircraft-rocket system is much more efficient than the traditional ones. This is very important for ensuring the safety of the cosmonauts. Now, if something happens in outer space, several weeks might be required to launch a new rocket with a spacecraft. This could be too late. In our day, satellites are used for speedy notification of ships at sea or aircraft in distress. For this, the international "Kospas-Sarsat" [Search and Rescue Satellite] system was created, owing to which thousands of people have already been saved. Thus, perhaps, an international service for the rescue of cosmonauts will be established? The air launched rocket system would be the best technological means for this noble aim.

An agreement was reached at the congress in Spain that next year specialists from the USSR, the United States, France, and the European Space Agency will meet in order to consider the problem of ensuring the safety of space flights. We will hope that this meeting will be fruitful and will lead to real results.